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SLIM
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FUTURE

ISSUE 123

CONFEDERATE CHEROKEE
The Native American chief who fought against the Union

IRISH CIVIL WAR
Ambush and assassination in the bitter struggle for Ireland's future

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CONTRIBUTORS

DR VICTORIA TAYLOR

Victoria is an award-winning aviation historian and lecturer at the University of Hull, specialising in British and German aviation in the inter-war and Second World War. On page 24 she recounts the career of Hans-Joachim Marseille – the Luftwaffe's 'Star of Africa'.

DR ROBERT LYMAN

This issue Rob takes a look at the origins and defining moments of one of Britain's most successful generals: William 'Bill' Slim. Turn to page 34 to read how the future leader of the 'forgotten' 14th Army learned his craft and cut his teeth.

MAREK SOBIERALSKI

Over on page 38 Marek recounts the fascinating story of Stand Watie, a Cherokee chief, politician and the last Confederate general to surrender during the American Civil War. Read how the Native American came to fight against the Union, and what led to his final downfall in 1865.

Welcome

Above: *Hans-Joachim Marseille's skill and daring made him one of the Luftwaffe's top pilots*

The accolade 'fighter ace' is much debated by military historians, and one that takes a broad sweep at categorising the best, or 'deadliest', pilots who flew predominantly during the world wars. It's a term that, while instantly understood, glosses over much of the nuance and fascinating details behind the legends of these skilled aviators. This issue, Dr Victoria Taylor uncovers the short yet fascinating career of Hans-Joachim Marseille, dubbed the 'Star of Africa'. Though he was far from the highest-scoring ace of the war, Marseille was one of the Luftwaffe's most successful pilots versus the Western Allies, with a record in the air matched by his renegade reputation on the ground.

Tim Williamson
Editor-in-Chief

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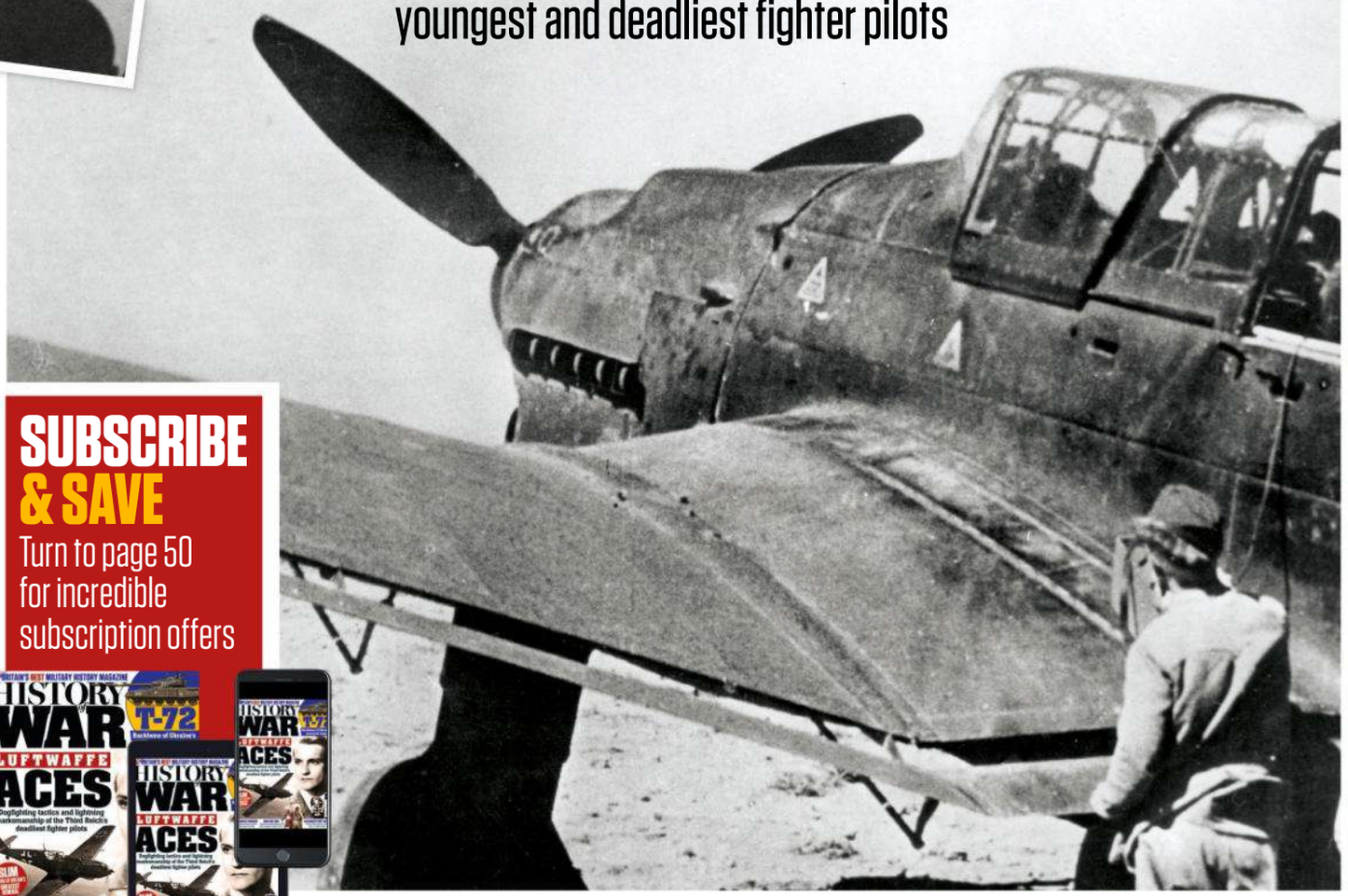

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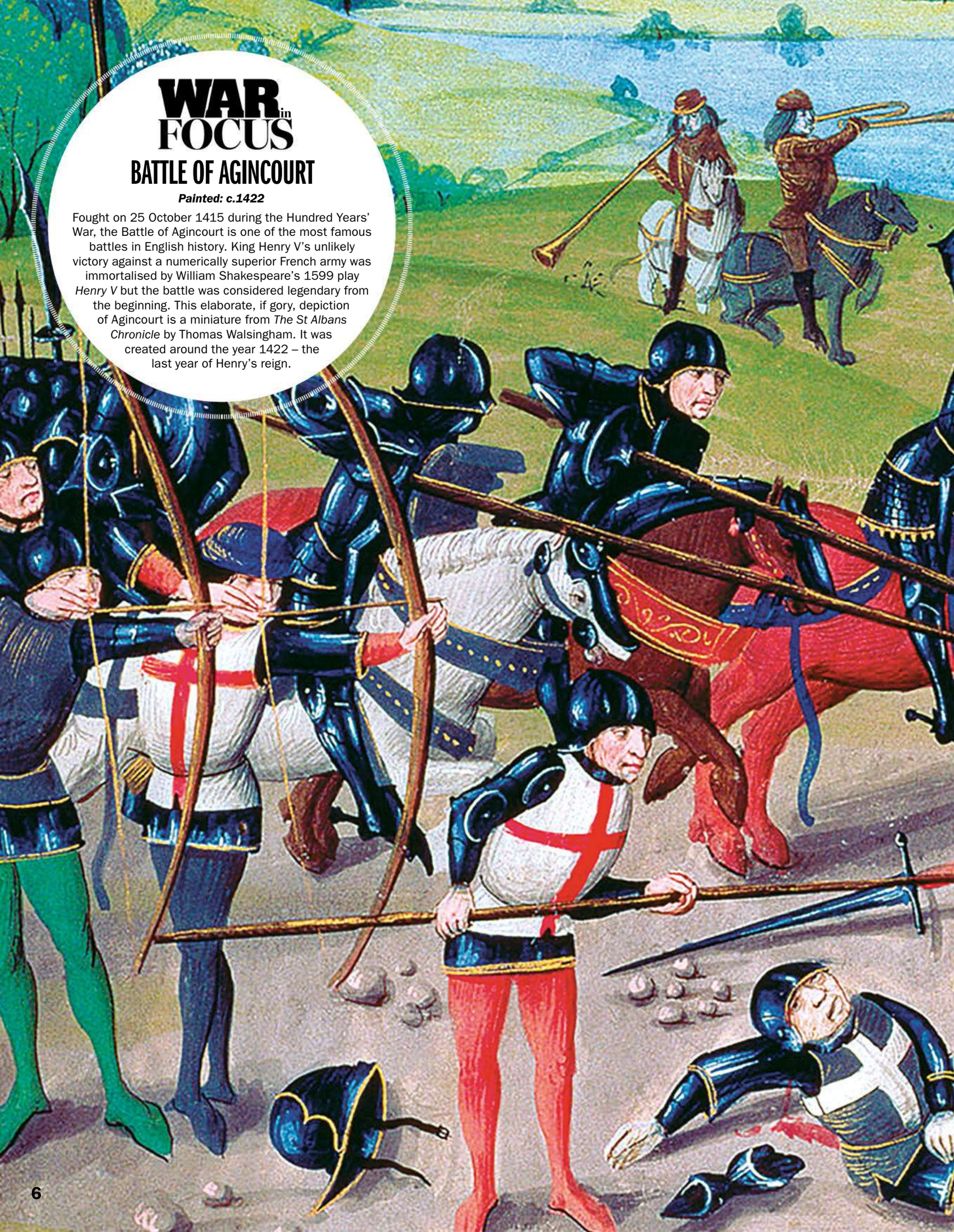


WAR in FOCUS

BATTLE OF AGINCOURT

Painted: c.1422

Fought on 25 October 1415 during the Hundred Years' War, the Battle of Agincourt is one of the most famous battles in English history. King Henry V's unlikely victory against a numerically superior French army was immortalised by William Shakespeare's 1599 play *Henry V* but the battle was considered legendary from the beginning. This elaborate, if gory, depiction of Agincourt is a miniature from *The St Albans Chronicle* by Thomas Walsingham. It was created around the year 1422 – the last year of Henry's reign.

© Alamy

WAR in FOCUS

ROSIE THE RIVETER

1943

A worker wearing a red bandana and blue overalls, 'Rosie the Riveter' became one of the Second World War's most iconic poster images. 'Rosie' represented the millions of female American labourers who worked to keep industry going in the US. While she was depicted as white, half-a-million 'Rosies' were African Americans, including the worker pictured here. She was photographed drilling rivets into a Vultee A-31 Vengeance bomber at a factory in Nashville, Tennessee. Despite working tirelessly, the African American 'Rosies' received little recognition after the war.

© Getty

© Getty

WAR in FOCUS

DON'T PANIC!

20 August 1970

The cast of the BBC comedy series *Dad's Army* pose during filming for a feature film of the same name. Of the seven actors, five were military veterans. Arthur Lowe, John Le Mesurier and Clive Dunn all served in the Second World War, with Dunn spending four years in an Austrian POW camp. John Laurie and Arnold Ridley fought on the Western Front in the First World War – Ridley was severely wounded at the Battle of the Somme. Laurie and Ridley later served in the real Home Guard during the Second World War.

TIMELINE OF...

IRISH CIVIL WAR

In the newly established Irish Free State, government forces fight the IRA in a bitter conflict that kills more Irish people than the preceding War of Independence

OCCUPATION OF THE FOUR COURTS 01

Two-hundred Anti-Treaty IRA militants occupy the Four Courts – Ireland's most prominent judicial building – in Dublin. Michael Collins delays retaking the Four Courts to prevent civil war.

14 April 1922

6 December 1921

The Republican signatories to the treaty include IRA Director of Intelligence Michael Collins (centre) and founder of Sinn Féin, Arthur Griffith (far left)

ANGLO-IRISH TREATY

The British Government and representatives from the Irish Republic sign a treaty that ends the Irish War of Independence. The island is divided between Northern Ireland (which remains in the UK) and a new Irish Free State – a self-governing Dominion within the British Empire.

16 January – 5 December 1922

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

A provisional government is established for the Free State but the Irish Republican Army (IRA) is split between those who accept the Anglo-Irish Treaty and those who do not. A key issue for the Anti-Treaty IRA is the oath of allegiance to King George V.

Michael Collins becomes chairman (de facto prime minister) of the Irish Free State's Provisional Government and commander-in-chief of its newly formed National Army

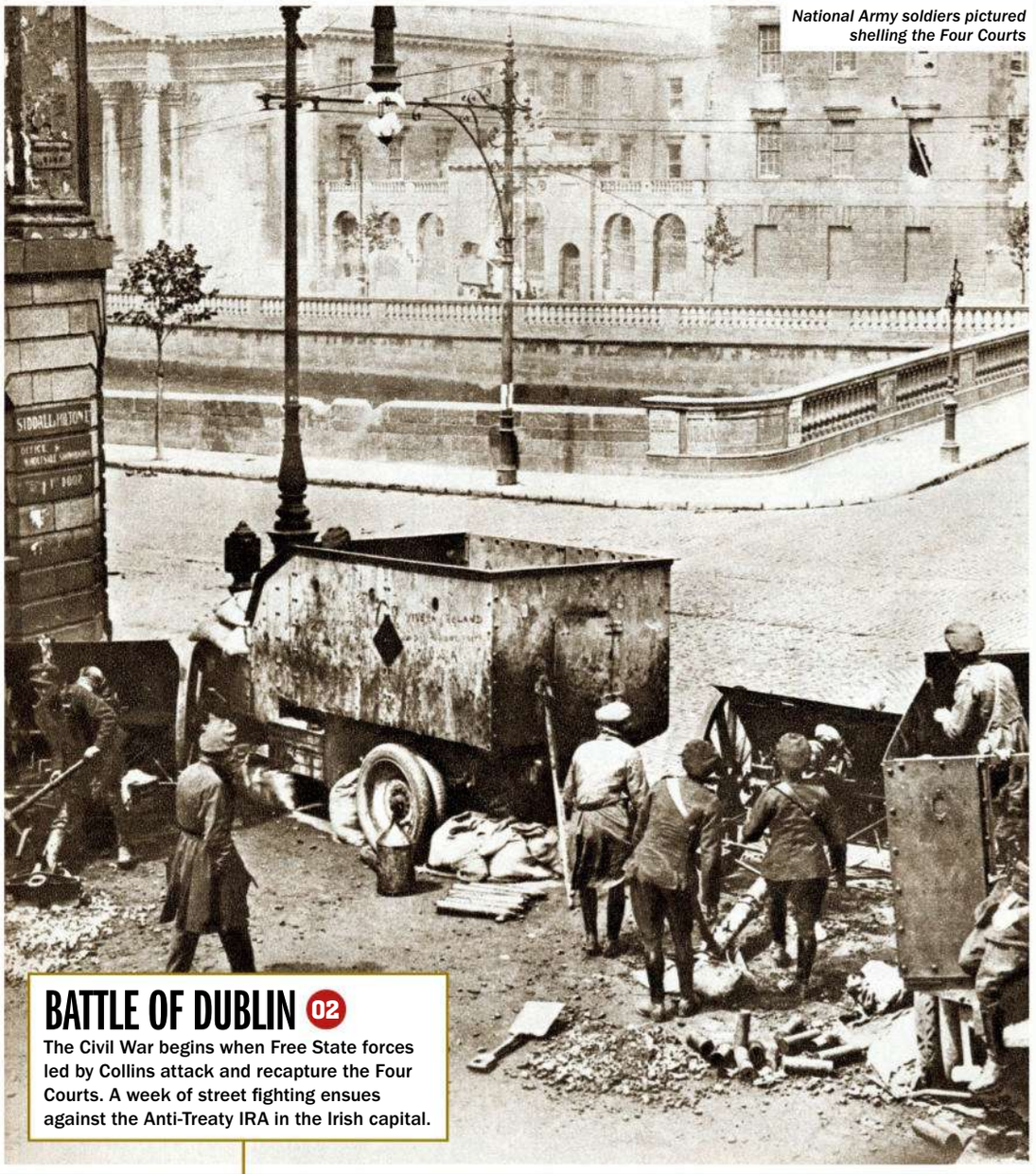
16 June 1922

IRISH GENERAL ELECTION

Collins' Pro-Treaty wing of Sinn Féin wins the general election to Dáil Éireann (Irish Parliament). Pro-Treaty parties form a majority in the Dàil but the Anti-Treaty faction of Sinn Féin, led by Éamon de Valera, rejects the result.

Éamon de Valera, the sole surviving Republican commandant from the 1916 Easter Rising, addresses a crowd in Dublin against the Anglo-Irish Treaty

A National Army sniper looks out over the Four Courts to observe Anti-Treaty IRA activity



National Army soldiers pictured shelling the Four Courts

BATTLE OF DUBLIN 02

The Civil War begins when Free State forces led by Collins attack and recapture the Four Courts. A week of street fighting ensues against the Anti-Treaty IRA in the Irish capital.

28 June – 5 July 1922

22 June 1922

ASSASSINATION OF WILSON

British Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson is assassinated by the IRA in London. Winston Churchill warns Collins that British troops will be used to retake the Four Courts if punitive action is not taken against the IRA.

Collins was accused of ordering the killing of Wilson (an Irishman and Ulster Unionist MP) in retaliation for escalating violence in the North

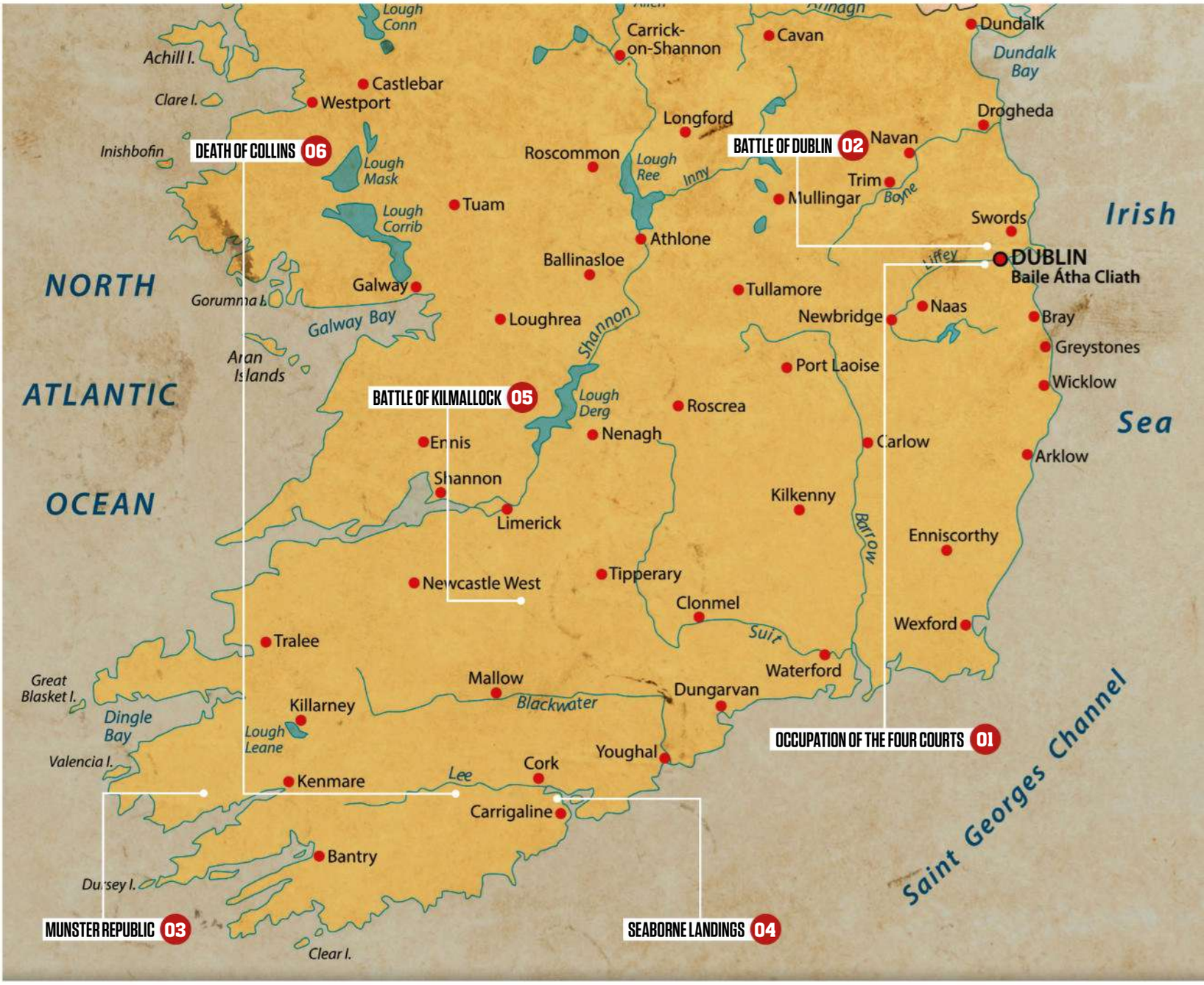
28 June – August 1922

FREE STATE OFFENSIVE

The National Army launches an offensive against Anti-Treaty IRA forces in the south and southwest of Ireland. The army recaptures all major towns for the Free State, although hundreds of people on both sides become casualties.

A group of National Army officers and soldiers (including Chief-of-Staff Eoin O'Duffy, fourth from left) share a lighter moment during the Civil War

Images © Alamy, Getty



July – August 1922

MUNSTER REPUBLIC 03

The Anti-Treaty IRA establish a base of operations in the southwest province of Munster to fight for an all-Ireland republican state. The territory is informally called the 'Munster Republic', with the aim of renegotiating the Anglo-Irish Treaty.

Éamon de Valera takes the salute from Anti-Treaty IRA fighters in 1922

24 July – 10 August 1922

SEABORNE LANDINGS 04

Free State forces are escorted by Royal Navy vessels to conduct naval landings against the Anti-Treaty IRA. The largest operation sees 800 National Army soldiers, artillery and armoured cars land at Passage West near Cork.

National Army soldiers aim their rifles aboard a ship bound for a secret destination on the southwestern Irish coast

25 July – 5 August 1922

BATTLE OF KILMALLOCK 05

The largest engagement of the war sees thousands of soldiers on both sides fighting across ten days in the countryside around the town of Kilmallock. Dozens are killed during the battle and Anti-Treaty forces eventually leave the area.

National Army soldiers pose in front of two Rolls-Royce Armoured Cars, possibly before the Battle of Kilmallock, July 1922

CEASEFIRE

The Anti-Treaty IRA ceases military operations, with its high command issuing an order to "dump arms". Between 1,500-4,000 people have been killed and the Civil War leaves a poisonous legacy that haunts Ireland for decades.

A National Army soldier pictured escorting a captured Anti-Treaty IRA fighter

Free State soldiers inspect a train derailed by the Anti-Treaty IRA

GUERRILLA PHASE

Richard Mulcahy replaces Collins as National Army commander-in-chief as Anti-Treaty forces increasingly adopt guerrilla tactics. The IRA inflict great damage on Free State infrastructure, including railways, before they are defeated.

22 August 1922 — **August 1922 – May 1923** — **November 1922 – May 1923** — **24 May 1923**

DEATH OF COLLINS 06

Collins is shot and killed when his armed convoy is ambushed by Anti-Treaty forces in County Cork. One-fifth of Ireland's population attends his funeral in Dublin. Collins is replaced as de facto prime minister by WT Cosgrave.

Mourners line the streets of Dublin to observe the state funeral of Michael Collins

EXECUTIONS

Although both sides conduct executions of their opponents, the Free State adopts an official policy of executing Anti-Treaty prisoners in order to bring the war to an end. Eighty-one Free State executions are carried out compared to 24 by the British during 1919-21.

National Army soldiers search a train with fixed bayonets in Dublin, April 1923

Images © Alamy, Getty, Wiki / PD / Gov

FREEDOM TO GAIN FREEDOM

The Anglo-Irish Treaty may have ended the bloody period of war with Britain, but the compromises in the agreement split opinion and fomented a new internal conflict

National Army troops march into Victoria Barracks, Athlone, after the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, February 1922

Crowds recite a rosary outside Downing Street during Anglo-Irish negotiations, October 1921

A 'truce' to the bloody and violent Irish War of Independence emerged in July 1921, as the British Government under David Lloyd George and the Irish Republic under Éamon de Valera both began to explore their options for peace and the future. Both men, through numerous letters to each other, found common ground in wanting to broker a long-lasting peace. However, they both held opposing views of what this peace and future would look like, with de Valera holding firm to the ideal of a unified independent Ireland, while Lloyd George balked at notions of independence and wanted Ireland to remain as part of the British Empire.

For the duration of the negotiations, de Valera stayed in Ireland as he wanted to remain a symbol of Irish Republicanism instead of being remembered as the figurehead of a party that acquiesced to British demands for Irish association with the empire. In his place de Valera selected a delegation of politicians, led by Arthur Griffith, to travel to London and engage in the treaty process with the British Government. This delegation's members held vastly different opinions on Ireland's future and what peace with Britain looked like, and this, coupled with de Valera's proposals which sought to undermine the British Empire, set up the Irish delegation for failure.

During treaty negotiations, Lloyd George, who was a seasoned politician and negotiator as shown by his role at the Paris Peace Conference after the First World War, outplayed Griffith. Lloyd George pushed Griffith into accepting the British monarch, Irish association – or Dominion status – with the British Empire and his proposed boundary commission on Northern Ireland. All of which were in direct contrast to what the absent de Valera wanted.

The Anglo-Irish Treaty also had articles that provided tangible and symbolic benefits to Britain. Article 4 provided a symbolic benefit as members of the Irish Free State Parliament, or Dáil, had to pledge an oath of alliance to the British monarch. And in Articles 7 and 8 the Irish had to provide several ports to the British Government for defence purposes, and the national defence force of Ireland was not allowed to exceed the proportion of the Irish population to the British population. The acceptance of this treaty and articles that benefited the British angered many Republicans as they felt that everything they had fought for had been ignored and their efforts, sacrifices and losses had been in vain.

On 8 December 1921, the Irish Cabinet approved the treaty. De Valera positioned himself against it and publicly slated the treaty before it went to the Dáil, declaring: "We want at least to get something and not to be a laughing stock if it is accepted." Within the Dáil visceral debate began as two camps, pro- and anti-treaty, emerged. Supporters of the treaty had the backing of the majority of the Irish as they stressed the benefits, such as the "freedom to achieve freedom" as Michael Collins argued, an end to war with Britain and greater autonomy for Ireland. The opposition stressed that the treaty maintained British overlordship of Ireland, and the military aspects tied Ireland to Britain; due to the recent Great War, this caused concerns that it would be difficult for Ireland to claim neutrality if it were so closely aligned and associated with Britain.

"DE VALERA'S VIOLENT RHETORIC AND CAMPAIGN FOR FREEDOM ONLY SOWED MORE DIVISION AND VIOLENT RESPONSES"

The treaty was passed in the Dáil on 7 January 1922, but before and immediately after the vote had occurred it became clear that Ireland had fractured, with former War of Independence comrades and friends now in deeply entrenched division. De Valera did not accept the results of the vote, claiming the Irish Republic had already been established and that he was not a British subject. He then resigned on 9 January, and after an unsuccessful renomination vote for the presidency, de Valera was withdrawn from the Dáil and replaced as president by Griffith. De Valera in response formed the Republican Association and campaigned against the treaty and British association, often in a violent fashion. Famously, he claimed that the IRA and Republicans "would have to wade through the blood of the soldiers of the Irish Government, and perhaps through that of some members of the Irish Government to get their freedom".

De Valera's violent rhetoric and campaign for freedom only sowed more division and violent responses, and the most significant of these came from the IRA. The IRA leadership, who opposed the treaty, met three days after the ratification of the Anglo-Irish Treaty to form their response, and on 5 February they set up the Military Action Committee, later the Army Council. This independent council was the first step towards war, and very clearly Ireland was now split, politically and militarily, setting the scene for civil war to engulf the nation.

Images: Getty

Armed Anti-Treaty IRA fighters pictured in Grafton Street, Dublin

BATTLE OF DUBLIN

The Irish Civil War began in the nation's capital, with urban fighting taking place between the National Army and Anti-Treaty militants

On 14 April 1922, approximately 200 Anti-Treaty IRA militants occupied Dublin's Four Courts. The main seat of Ireland's judiciary, the Four Courts was considered a symbol of British authority and the militants hoped to provoke the remaining British troops into battle.

The aim of the militants was to resume the War of Independence and reunite the IRA against a common enemy, but Collins was unwilling to dismantle the gains achieved by the Free State. Under pressure from the British Government but desperate to avoid civil war, he left the Anti-Treaty IRA garrison inside the Four Courts for months.

Weeks later, on 22 June 1922, IRA gunmen assassinated Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson in London. A prominent Ulster Unionist MP, Wilson's death greatly angered the British. Prime Minister David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill (who at the time was serving as colonial secretary) warned Collins that unless the IRA were removed from the Four Courts by the National Army then British forces would conduct the operation.

On 28 June, the Four Courts garrison kidnapped a National Army general and Collins gave the order to shell the building. Using artillery supplied by the British, Collins had reluctantly begun the Irish Civil War. A National Army assault on the Four Courts was repelled on 29 June but the continual shelling took its toll. On 30 June, a huge explosion occurred when the Irish Public Record Office in the Four Courts' western block blew up. The IRA had used it as an ammunition store and its destruction forced the garrison to surrender.

Sackville Street

Despite the fall of the Four Courts, there were still around 500 Anti-Treaty IRA fighters operating across Dublin. Supported by approximately 150 paramilitaries from the Irish Citizen Army, the IRA continued fighting from positions in and around Sackville Street (now O'Connell Street). Occupying several buildings – including hotels, a YMCA and a pub – the IRA hoped to receive reinforcements from other Anti-Treaty units across Ireland. However, the National Army imposed a tight cordon in Dublin and fought the militants with artillery and armoured cars as well as infantry.

"USING ARTILLERY SUPPLIED BY THE BRITISH, COLLINS HAD RELUCTANTLY BEGUN THE IRISH CIVIL WAR"

The YMCA was taken after National Army soldiers tunnelled underneath it and detonated a bomb. Incendiary bombs were then used to flush out the militants, with the National Army firing shells at close range. Dozens of un-uniformed IRA fighters were able to escape by mingling among civilian crowds but that also meant civilians became caught in the crossfire.

The fighting in Dublin continued sporadically until there was only a core of 15 Anti-Treaty fighters left in Hammam Hotel on Sackville Street. On 5 July 1922, the leader of this rearguard, Cathal Brugha, ordered his men to surrender although he personally refused to capitulate. A senior

The destruction of the Irish Public Records Office at the Four Courts forced its Anti-Treaty IRA garrison to surrender

***Above:** National Army soldiers use British artillery to shell Anti-Treaty militants*

Irish republican, Brugha had been minister of defence, first president of Dáil Éireann and IRA chief-of-staff during the War of Independence. He was shot and mortally wounded after he emerged from the hotel brandishing a revolver.

Brugha was the battle's last casualty. At least 80 people had been killed, including 29 National Army soldiers, 15 Anti-Treaty fighters and 35 civilians. A further 280 people were wounded and the National Army captured over 450 prisoners. Although central Dublin was heavily damaged, the Free State firmly held the capital. It now concentrated on taking the offensive to Anti-Treaty IRA fighters in the rest of the Free State. The dramatic events in Dublin were merely the beginning of a bloody conflict that would last for almost a year.

One of the wounded rebels being brought out of the burning Four Courts building after the surrender to the Free State troops

Images: Alamy, Getty

ASSASSINATION & EXECUTION

Echoing the tactics of the War of Independence, pro and anti-treaty political and military leaders became valuable targets in the pursuit of military goals

One of the first and most significant assassinations during the Irish Civil War was that of Sir Henry Wilson on 22 June 1922. Wilson was an Anglo-Irish MP for North Down who had previously been a field marshal in the British Army during the First World War. He was a big supporter of Irish inclusion in the United Kingdom, which made him a bitter opponent to Lloyd George's Dominion status idea in the Anglo-Irish Treaty. Wilson had been fanatically against the IRA and their campaigns during the Irish War of Independence and wanted Britain to reconquer Ireland.

On the morning of 22 June Wilson was at Liverpool Street station in London, unveiling the Great Eastern Railway War Memorial, all while dressed in his full military uniform. After this, he made the journey back to his home to get changed before attending Parliament. Near his home, two IRA members from the organisation's London branch, Reginald Dunne and Joseph O'Sullivan, who were aware of Wilson's schedule for the day, waited for his arrival. As Wilson walked up the steps of his home – 36 Eaton Place – O'Sullivan came up toward him and fired two shots – both missed. As Wilson was preoccupied with O'Sullivan, Dunne quickly rushed toward Wilson and shot him three times, fatally wounding him.

Wilson's death, although quickly overshadowed by other events, was particularly significant. Almost immediately it prompted the British Government to put pressure on Arthur Griffith, Michael Collins and the Irish Provisional Government to deal with the IRA, pushing Ireland toward civil war. Wilson's death was compared to that of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and called 'Ireland's Sarajevo'. It also caused tensions within the Pro-Treaty side, with some believing that Collins had a part in organising the assassination with the IRA.

Collins sought to unite Pro- and Anti-Treaty forces to coordinate peace for Ireland that respected the people's will. He had previously been the director of intelligence for the IRA, and he was also a member of the team that had negotiated the Anglo-Irish Treaty for the Irish Provisional Government. Because of his past, Collins had a unique position of being a figure that both Pro- and Anti-Treaty sides respected, and with whom they felt comfortable negotiating. However, Collins also became an increasingly controversial and violent figure as he was planning attacks on Northern Ireland and had ordered several violent hits on Anti-Treaty forces and strongholds.

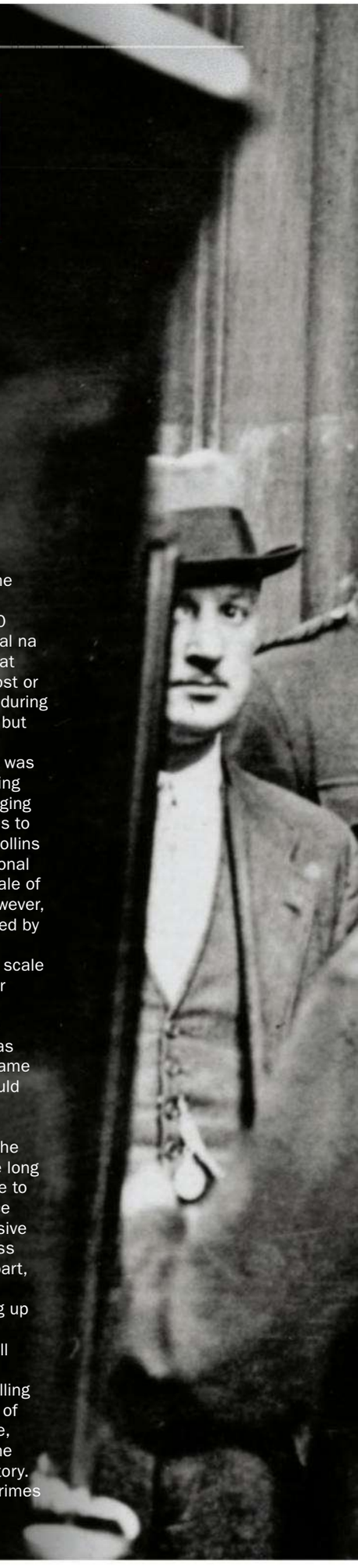
In August 1922, Collins travelled to Cork to meet nationalist leaders and discuss a peace deal. When warned of the dangers of travelling into strong Anti-Treaty territory, Collins replied: "They'll never shoot me in my own county." While returning, his heavily armed convoy of 25 men was ambushed by around five to 10 attackers, concealed on a road near the village of Béal na Bláth. There are conflicting accounts of the events that followed, and all official records were subsequently lost or destroyed, prompting claims of a cover-up. Allegedly, during the ambush Collins' driver attempted to speed away, but Collins chose to stand and fight.

In the ensuing firefight with the ambushers, Collins was fatally shot in the head. The circumstances surrounding his death are still debated to this day, with some alleging it was an organised assassination by Pro-Treaty forces to enable them to step up their efforts to win the war. Collins was the only casualty of the ambush, and the Provisional Government did indeed increase the intensity and scale of violence toward Republican forces and prisoners. However, most historians agree that the attack was orchestrated by Anti-Treaty forces.

After the death of Collins, tensions soared and the scale and intensity of violence increased. On 27 September 1922 the government passed the Public Safety Bill, granting the Dáil emergency powers to execute those bearing arms against the state. The National Army was granted the power to enforce this bill, and with this came the ability for the army to hold military courts that could sentence individuals to death or prison, with only the signature of two officers.

Initially the new legislation, which the IRA dubbed the 'Murder Bill', was confined to Dublin. However, before long Kevin O'Higgins, Minister for Justice, extended its use to the rest of the Free State, believing that it would place psychological pressure on the enemy, as well as passive opposition among the public. With its extension across the nation, the bill's structures of due process fell apart, as sentences began to be passed down as orders to commanders, with some officers even simply phoning up superiors for permission to execute prisoners.

One of the most brutal uses of the Public Safety Bill occurred in March 1923, in Ballyseedy, county Kerry. Nine Republican fighters had been arrested for the killing of five Free State soldiers. As a reprisal, on the night of 6-7 March, the prisoners were tied next to a landmine, which was then detonated. The blast killed eight of the prisoners, but one miraculously survived to tell the story. The Ballyseedy massacre remains one of the worst crimes committed under the guise of the Public Safety Bill.



Another army atrocity was the Red Cow Murders of October 1922. On 7 October 1922 in Red Cow, just outside Dublin, three anti-treaty teenagers — Edwin Hughes, Brendan Holohan and Joe Rogers — were arrested by Charlie Dalton who was Deputy Head of National Army Intelligence. The youths were accused of putting up posters calling for Republicans to kill government forces. Dalton believed that they were on intelligence patrol for the IRA, and other officers later testified that the boys had been interrogated and released after 20 minutes. However, the boys' bodies were later discovered in a quarry, with Hughes and Holohan being found closer together with four gunshot wounds, while Rogers, who was shot 16 times, was found further away, possibly attempting to escape his murder.

Images: Alamy, Getty

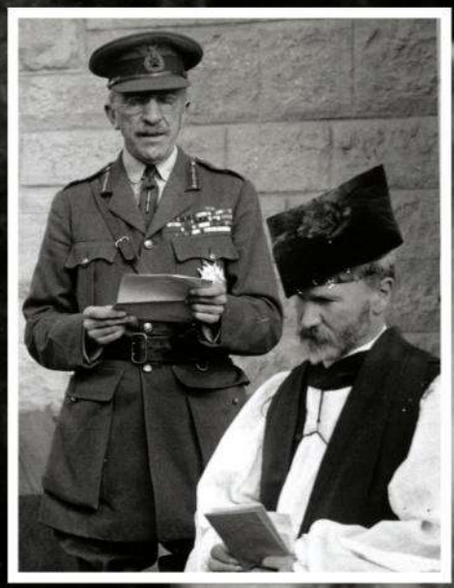
IRA memorial monument dedicated to the 'Drumboe Martyrs' who were executed by Free State firing squad on March 14, 1923

"WHEN WARNED OF THE DANGERS OF TRAVELLING INTO STRONG ANTI-TREATY TERRITORY, COLLINS REPLIED: 'THEY'LL NEVER SHOOT ME IN MY OWN COUNTY'"

Wilson's assassins, Reginald Dunne and Joseph O'Sullivan, were arrested soon after the shooting

Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, who opposed Irish independence, was shot dead by the IRA in June 1922

This memorial in County Cork, Ireland, marks the spot where Michael Collins was assassinated



EIRE'S GUERRILLA WAR

Outnumbered and outgunned, the Republican forces embarked on a campaign of ambush, sabotage and evasion, striking Free State troops hard and fast before disappearing into the countryside

The Irish Civil War was bloody and brutal, but it was the personalised nature of this brutality that made the war such a dark moment in Irish history. Members from both sides had been comrades fighting side by side against the British during the Irish War of Independence from 1919-21.

Many members from the Provisional Government, or the Free State, had even been members of the IRA during the war, helping shape its strategy, war plans and run its operations. The level of familiarity that many government leaders such as Michael Collins had with the IRA and its operations inhibited the IRA's war efforts. The IRA began the conflict using the same tactics that had proven successful during the fight for independence, which were already well understood by the Free State command. The IRA also failed to change the locations of their safe-houses and weapons caches, leaving them vulnerable to attack and lacking supplies.

The army was aware that the IRA were struggling for resources – at one point they had one rifle for every two men. To ensure that they had the upper hand, the Free State was provided with arms and resources by the British, ensuring that they were vastly outgunning the IRA. With their advantage, they tried to tempt the IRA into open battles, as demonstrated by the army capturing Carrick-On-Suir in August 1922. The army then used their superiority to target IRA strongholds, and while they were able to successfully capture the west and began gaining control in the south from the IRA, victory was not yet in sight.

With the loss of the west and the army gaining the ascendency, Liam Lynch, chief of staff of the IRA, was forced to change strategy because he realised they would not be unable to regularly match or beat the army in an open

Soldiers stand by a train that was derailed in an IRA ambush, Cloughjordan, County Tipperary

"THE ARMY SUCCESSFULLY CAPTURED THE WEST AND BEGAN GAINING CONTROL IN THE SOUTH FROM THE IRA, BUT VICTORY WAS NOT YET IN SIGHT"

battle. They reformed their formations into flying columns, attacking from remote areas, and these new IRA tactics started to look more like an armed insurgency. These units were unable to hold on to garrisoned sites, but they were able to cause disruption and damage to the army by removing them from towns and taking their weapons.

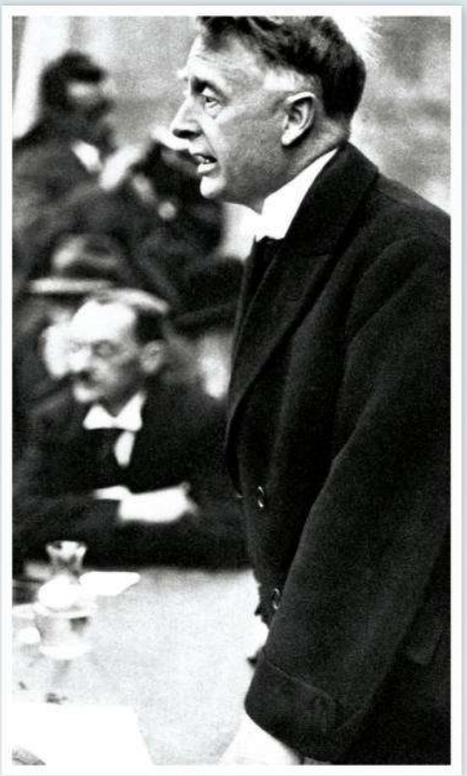
Initially the IRA had enjoyed a relatively large amount of support, particularly in the countryside, but as the war went on this support began to wane. After the street fighting in Dublin, and the siege of the Four Courts, much of the IRA's support, outside of the rural regions of the nation, disappeared. Many of the men that had maintained their popular support for their role in the Irish War of Independence had either been killed or arrested by the pro-treaty forces.

Despite much of the Irish public supporting the Anglo-Irish Treaty, the government decided to implement a media strategy to curtail what was left of the IRA's support. This strategy led to the government instructing the newspapers and the media to refer to the government and the army as Ireland's legitimate government and armed forces, and to refer to the IRA as 'bands' and 'fighters' instead of units and soldiers. This undermined their position in society, damaging their popular support.

Meanwhile, the IRA's strategy of bombing and attacking railways, roads and supply lines to stop supplies going to Free State territories undermined their support in rural areas. These supplies were often destined for the poorest rural areas of the country – which just so happened to support the IRA – and by hurting these communities they began to cut themselves off from their support bases that had previously refused to give away the IRA's location to the army.

The assassination of Michael Collins, who had been attempting to end the war, saw a change in strategy from the government when its new leader, William T Cosgrave decided to become more aggressive in his determination to defeat the IRA. Using the Public Safety Bill, Cosgrave empowered the army to place over 12,000 IRA members in custody and to execute key local leaders. This new strategy to curtail an emboldened IRA crushed the morale of the group, and many IRA members put down their weapons and surrendered.

In their last stand, many Republican units adopted a new strategy, carrying out smaller ambushes and attacks, However, their diminished units and inferior resources saw the army successfully working across the country to arrest and disarm the remaining members of the IRA.



William T Cosgrave instigated more aggressive tactics against the IRA

Images: Alamy, Getty

THE STAR OF AFRICA

Hans-Joachim Marseille's razor-sharp skills, charisma and good looks garnered admirers across the Third Reich and commanded respect from his foes

WORDS **DR VICTORIA TAYLOR**

I was used to losing men; that was war. But Marseille was special, like a small boy playing war. He never took it too seriously, and his smile, which was less evident as time progressed, was infectious when present." Oberst Eduard Neumann's recollection of his former wartime mentee, Hans-Joachim Marseille, epitomises how the fallen 'Star of Africa' never lost his lustre with the Luftwaffe. Credited with 158 aerial victories overall against Allied airmen during the Second World War, Marseille was the most successful German fighter pilot in North Africa.

On paper and in newsreels, he was Nazi Germany's perfect knight of the air: young, handsome, chivalrous yet deadly. To his superiors, he was a loose cannon, an ideological renegade and a flamboyant playboy who strained their patience to the limit. In both spheres, however, he was among the Luftwaffe's most highly regarded fighter pilots.

The decorated Luftwaffe ace Adolf Galland described Marseille as "the unrivalled virtuoso [whose] achievements had previously been regarded as impossible and they were never excelled by anyone after his death". It is important to recognise, though, that Marseille's lionisation originated

Marseille was described by a fellow fighter ace as an "unrivalled virtuoso" in the sky

A Messerschmitt Bf 109E-3, one of the most successful fighter plane designs in the early war

Marseille, whose exploits featured heavily in Nazi propaganda, talks to members of Hitler Youth

"IF YOU DON'T SHOOT FAST ENOUGH AND GET OUT OF THE ENEMY'S SIGHTS JUST AS QUICKLY, THEN YOU'LL BE THE VICTIM YOURSELF!"

within Nazi propaganda, which seized at the chance to amplify the legend and heroics of the real man.

The first biography of Marseille's life was written in 1944 by Oberleutnant Fritz Dettmann, a war correspondent in the Luftwaffe's Propagandakompanie. Dettmann, as Markus Renner writes, was "one of the Luftwaffe's best-rated and most capable war correspondents. His reports were ground-breaking for the instrumentalisation and iconisation of Marseille and [were] known beyond the borders of Germany." However, Renner concludes that such publications "[manipulated] the reader in line with the Nazi system, and that factual, objective reporting or documentation of reality was hardly intended". Robert Tate – a biographer of Marseille – estimates that only around 60 to 70 percent of his kills can be corroborated.

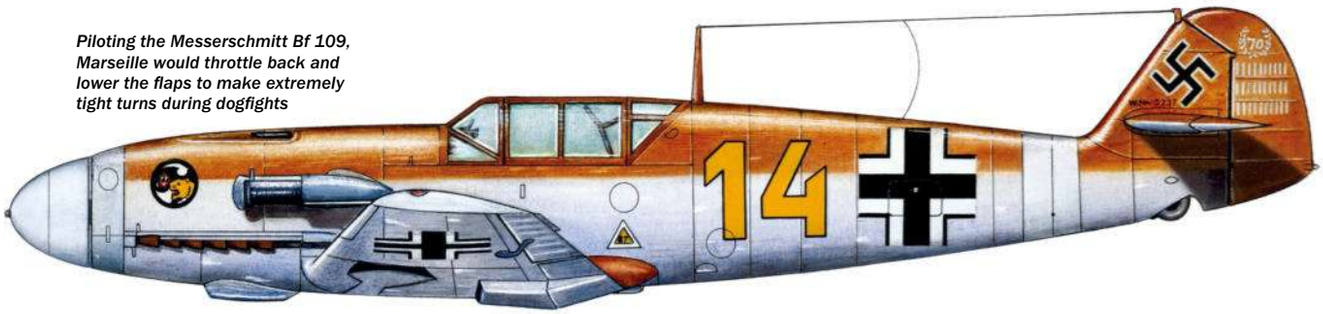
This is not to detract from Marseille's undeniably impressive record; rather, it is to demonstrate that the myth and misinformation which cling to his name often mask his real story. That this reckless lone wolf often abandoned his 'pack' in the skies, or that he cultivated some of his aura by regularly engaging with the poisonous Nazi media that spouted the racist values he abhorred, are facts which his stats alone fail to convey. So, the 'legend' created around Marseille necessitates close scrutiny – but it is also what renders his story eternally compelling.

Path to the Luftwaffe

Born in Berlin on 13 December 1919, Marseille came from a family of army officers with French Huguenot ancestry. His childhood was marred with unhappiness, from his parents' bitter divorce to nearly succumbing to the Spanish Flu. The scrawny Marseille was doted on by his mother and clashed with his father, whose strict militaristic ideals he never embraced. Instead, 'Jochen', as Marseille was known to friends and family, drew his inner strength from being a class clown who pulled silly pranks on his teachers.

Attending one of the Deutsche Lufthansa flying schools as a teenager, he soon fell in love with flying and eventually joined the Luftwaffe in 1938. While training at Fürstenfeldbruck's Luftkriegsschule 4 ('Air War School 4') in March 1939, the 19-year-old Marseille displayed an early penchant for parlous flying that often got him in trouble with his superiors. Having once grown bored of flying in a tightly circuited platzrunde ('air traffic pattern')

Ju-87 'Stuka' dive bombers pictured during the North Africa campaign, in which Marseille earned a majority of his aerial victories



Piloting the Messerschmitt Bf 109, Marseille would throttle back and lower the flaps to make extremely tight turns during dogfights

with his course mates, he elected to fly off and stage a mock aerial battle instead.

There is also the enduring story of Marseille amazing local farmers by landing on an autobahn after suffering engine trouble with his Messerschmitt Bf 109. Renner has disputed this, noting that Marseille's strafbuch ('penal book') "only shows three penalties from the end of 1939 to the beginning of 1940" and that "landing on a motorway is never given as a reason". In any case, the fact that this story was long repeated even by post-war historians demonstrates that Marseille garnered a larger-than-life reputation early on in his Luftwaffe career.

He completed his flight training at Jagdfliegerschule ('Fighter Pilot School') C in Vienna-Neustadt, before joining Lehrgeschwader 2 at Calais-Marck on 12 August 1940. This came just one day before the Luftwaffe commenced with the Adlerangriff ('Eagle Attack'): a concerted effort to subdue the British Royal Air Force during the Battle of Britain. Marseille scored his first kill on 24 August 1940, but privately confessed to his flight leader that he felt sorry for the British pilot he downed. He was quickly reminded: "If you don't shoot fast enough and get out of the enemy's sights just as quickly, then you'll be the victim yourself!"

Personality clashes

After barely a month in the Battle of Britain, Marseille had two Iron Crosses and was flying as a rottenführer ('wing leader') – refining his deadly high-angle deflection shooting in the process. Nevertheless, his devil-may-care attitude wrote off four valuable Bf 109 fighters in exchange for seven kills, only three of which were confirmed. Initially, his cavalier flying resulted in little more than a performative slap on the wrist from his superior, Oberleutnant Adolf Buhl. But, at the beginning of October 1940, he was fatefully transferred to the 4 Staffel ('squadron') of Jagdgeschwader 52 under Oberleutnant Johannes 'Macky' Steinhoff.

Marseille's floppy hair, skew-whiff uniform and will-o'-the-wisp nature rubbed the strait-laced Steinhoff up the wrong way. Steinhoff's expectations for strict flight obedience went against Marseille's natural instinct to charge in with all guns blazing. His ill-discipline also manifested on the ground: Marseille was a red-blooded lothario who, according to Neumann, "chased women just as effectively as he did enemy aircraft". He even allegedly became intimate with the wives of senior Wehrmacht generals, and had sometimes bedded so many women the night before that he was too exhausted to climb into his cockpit the next morning!

As Galland once recalled: "Steinhoff told me stories of some of his exploits that made me laugh until I cried, such as the time Marseille stole his staff car, picked up several girls, and was so drunk he had the local mayor's daughter drive him back to the base, in Steinhoff's car." Another time, Marseille went missing while picking up some delayed ground crew. "Another officer was sent to find him and the missing enlisted men," Galland recounted. "The report, as I understood it, was that Marseille was drunk and had managed to fall out of a young lady's window."

Rising star

Like a despairing father washing his hands of his tearaway son, Steinhoff finally dismissed Marseille from Jagdgeschwader 52 for insubordination on 24 December 1940. The former disclosed that "his often irresponsible understanding of duty was the primary reason I sent him packing. But he had an irresistible charm." From early 1941, it was up to Neumann – then commander of Jagdgeschwader 27 at Döberitz – to tame Marseille's hellraising nature. In April, JG 27 was transferred to Ayn al-Gazala in Eastern Libya to provide close air support to General Erwin Rommel's Afrika Korps during the North African campaign.

Albert Kesselring (right) talks to German airmen, North Africa, March 1942

"MARSEILLE WAS A RED-BLOODED LOTHARIO... WHO CHASED WOMEN JUST AS EFFECTIVELY AS HE DID ENEMY AIRCRAFT"

A Messerschmitt Bf 109 flying close to the North African coast, 1941

Marseille pictured in North Africa wearing his Knight's Cross medal

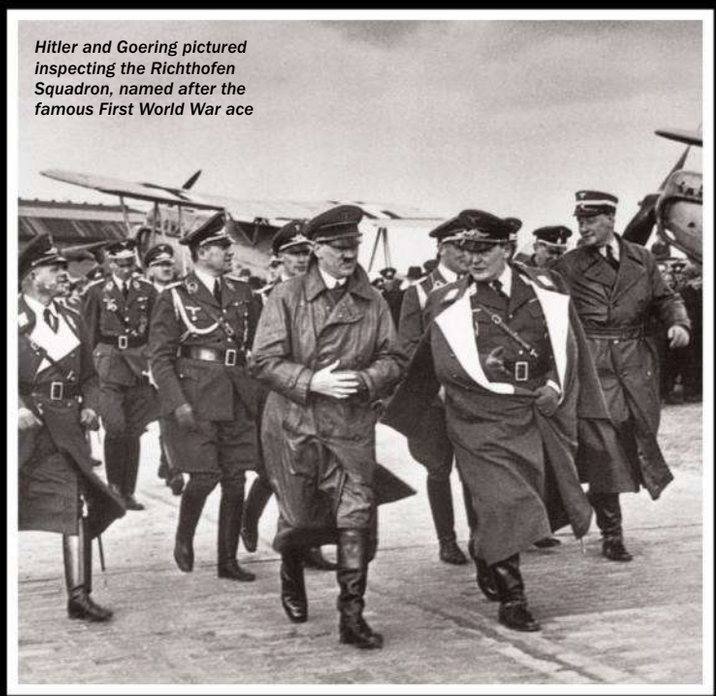
LUFTWAFFE ACES

HITLER'S ACES

The Luftwaffe's expert pilots tested their opponents to their limits in fierce dogfights and interception sorties, claiming thousands of aerial victories

During the Second World War, the Luftwaffe counted history's highest-scoring pilot aces, or Experten, among its ranks. Prior to the outbreak of the war, under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was forbidden from having an air force, which forced the Nazis to improvise by training their pilots abroad and concealing their build-up of military planes and personnel under a commercial guise. This pretence ceased in 1935 when the existence of the Luftwaffe was officially recognised – the secretive training programmes meant it began with many experienced aviators. This included veterans of the Condor Legion – Hitler's expeditionary force sent to fight in the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) – but soon many young pilots, brought up through the ranks of the Hitler Youth, were making their name in aerial combat.

Many pilots honed their skills in dogfights over Britain, France and North Africa, though the Eastern Front saw by far the most aerial victories of the war, meaning confirmed aircraft destroyed or incapacitated. In the East, Soviet planes and pilots were often outmatched by their opponents, even during the dying months of the war as the Red Army advanced towards Berlin. Though many of the Luftwaffe's pilot aces would not see the end of the war, many others would go on to serve in democratic West Germany's resurrected air force, instructing future generations of aviators.



Hitler and Goering pictured inspecting the Richthofen Squadron, named after the famous First World War ace

Eventually, men like Marseille and his close friends Werner Schröer and Hans-Arnold 'Fifi' Stahlschmidt would help to intermittently turn the tide for the Axis in North Africa. Yet, although he scored the first North African kill for the 3 Staffel of JG 27 against a Hawker Hurricane, Marseille initially struggled to adapt to the challenging operational conditions. In addition, his continuing rebellious streak occasionally bordered on the fatuous. Hauptmann Gerhard Homuth immediately disliked Marseille and once grounded him from a mission. Neumann described his protégé's retaliation…

"Marseille, being a hot-headed sort, took off and then he strafed the ground close to Homuth's tent, and he was very lucky not to have been court-martialled for that stupid stunt. Homuth continued to have problems with Marseille. He wrote a report stating that he was 'undisciplined in the air, as well as on the ground, and displayed nothing resembling proper airmanship in combat'."

However, Marseille did become more disciplined where it truly mattered: going in for the kill. He swapped alcohol for milk in the belief it would improve his eyesight and squinted up into the desert sun to acclimatise his eyes to the blinding glare. He even devised his own physical training programme – including breathing and muscle strengthening exercises – to withstand the higher G-forces when in a sharp turn. Marseille's eccentricity became his asset, and by 17 December 1941 his kills totalled 36 after having bagged 11 kills against the Allies' Desert Air Force within 14 days.

Instead of deploying full throttle throughout combat, as was standard, he would pull the throttle back and lower the Bf 109's flaps to increase drag, which enabled him to make tighter turns during a dogfight. Regularly downing his opponents in just 15 bullets or a handful of cannon shots, he often came back with half of his ammunition to spare. As fellow pilot ace Günther Rall noted: "No other fighter [pilot] remotely approached him in this respect. Marseille was the real type – an excellent pilot and a brilliant marksman. I think he was the best shot in the Luftwaffe."

Part of his rapid maturation as a pilot from early 1942, however, was rooted in personal tragedy. Neumann noticed that when Marseille "was informed that his younger sister [Inge] had died in Vienna, possibly murdered, his character changed forever. I saw this change, and I was concerned that he may grow more reckless, lose focus, and become a liability to himself or others. I think that tragedy was what created the Marseille of legend, to be honest. He just became a far more determined, serious, and less jovial man from that point forward."

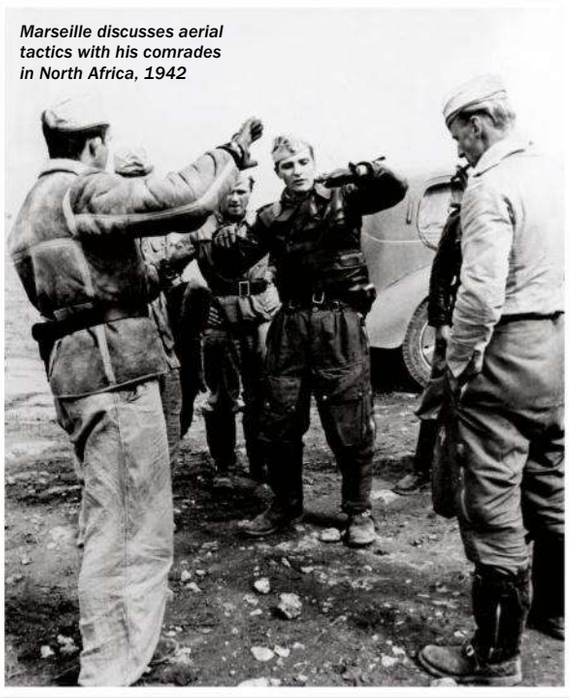
Media darling

In 1942, Marseille was awarded the Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross with ever-increasing adornments and received the Italian Gold Medal for Bravery, which not even Rommel had received. Despite his overall kill count likely being exaggerated, Tate does confirm that British and South African losses during Marseille's most prolific spree on 1 September 1942 (17 victories in a day) were considerably higher within the district in which he was flying. It was for this feat that he was recommended by Galland for the Knight's Cross with Oak Leaves, Swords and Diamonds.

With Marseille brandishing both the looks and skills to kill, the Nazi press – in Renner's words – "deliberately conveyed the image of a performance-based, modern and militant Nazi aviation officer" with the ultimate 'Piloten-und Heldenkarriere' ('career as a pilot and a hero') to which Germany's youth could aspire. Dettman later published an article in the Austrian newspaper *Das Kleine Volksblatt* which recalled the tense but triumphant atmosphere after Marseille landed on 17 June 1942…

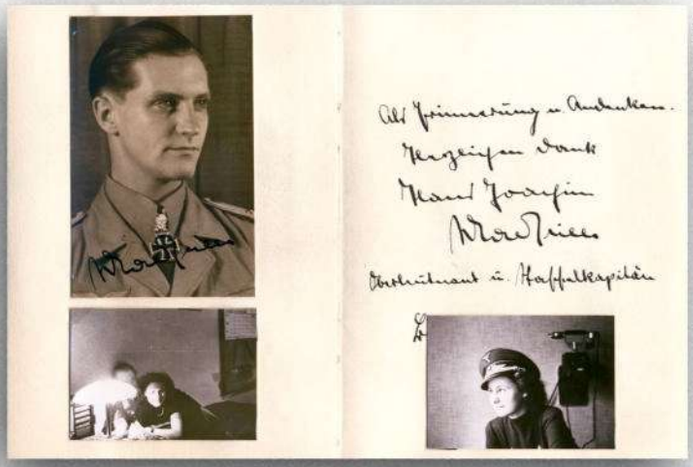
"He climbed out of his machine completely exhausted. His face was matted with sweat and still shadowed from the intense concentration of the six dogfights. The comrades who wanted to take him on their shoulders after his 101st victory stepped back in silence. But suddenly, after two or three minutes, rigidity and shadows fell, the body relaxed. Marseille stood laughing among us, recounting the air battles, drawing with his hands, and his eyes returned to

"WITH MARSEILLE BRANDISHING BOTH THE LOOKS AND SKILLS TO KILL, THE NAZI PRESS DELIBERATELY CONVEYED THE IMAGE OF A PERFORMANCE-BASED, MODERN AND MILITANT NAZI AVIATION OFFICER"



Marseille discusses aerial tactics with his comrades in North Africa, 1942

A German fighter sits under camouflage in Tunisia during the Luftwaffe's mission to support Rommel's Afrika Korps



Above: This autographed card from Marseille partly reads: "In remembrance and as a memento. Heartfelt thanks…"

Marseille's insatiable womanising frequently enraged his superiors in the Luftwaffe.

LUFTWAFFE ACES

ADOLF GALLAND
YEARS OF SERVICE: 1935-45
KILLS: 104

With schoolboy aspirations of becoming a commercial pilot, Adolf Galland instead joined the Luftwaffe while it was still a secretive air force. Training in Italy in the early 1930s, he was involved in several accidents, later joking he was known as the "millionaire of the new Luftwaffe" due to the collective value of the aircraft he crashed. He joined Germany's Condor Legion, flying a Heinkel 51 in a ground-attack role.

In 1939, Galland took part in the invasions of Poland and France, and he also fought in numerous dogfights in the Battle of Britain. When asked by Hermann Göring what his squadron needed to achieve victory over the RAF, Galland famously replied: "Please Reichsmarschall, equip my wings with Spitfires!"

By the end of 1940 he had achieved 58 victories and was promoted to fighter wing commander. He was shot down several times during fighting over Britain, escaping with injuries.

In 1941 Hitler awarded Galland Diamonds to his Knight's Cross with Oak Leaves in recognition of his 94th victory. That same year, at the age of just 29, he was made general der jagdflieger, placing him in charge of the Luftwaffe's fighter squadrons. This frustrated Galland, as the senior position meant he was not permitted to take to the skies, almost certainly limiting his final victory tally. He ended the war flying the Me 262 jet fighter, in which he achieved several more victories before being captured by American forces.

HANS-ULRICH RUDEL
YEARS OF SERVICE: 1936-45
KILLS: 500 TANKS

Though he later became the most decorated pilot in the Third Reich, Hans-Ulrich Rudel's wartime career began in much more modest circumstances. Not judged to be a capable aviator, he was assigned to flying reconnaissance missions during the invasions of Poland and France. It was not until 1941, during Operation Barbarossa, that he was given a chance to prove himself in combat, in a dive-bombing squadron flying Ju87 Stukas.

Rudel more than made up for lost time and became known for his deadly accuracy when attacking ground forces on the Eastern Front. By 1943 he had flown over 1,000 sorties, inflicting devastating losses on the Soviets, and by June 1944 he had destroyed over 300 Soviet tanks. His impressive victories earned him immense prestige in Berlin, with even Hitler reportedly in awe of the pilot.

In December 1944 he was awarded the Knight's Cross with Golden Oak Leaves, Swords and Diamonds – he remained the only recipient of this decoration. By the end of the war, Rudel had flown around 2,500 sorties and taken out over 500 tanks, as well as hundreds more vehicles, artillery pieces, naval vessels and even a Soviet battleship.

their light, shimmering green, which now almost outshined the strange black spot on his left eyeball. At that time, we were convinced that such a performance against these opponents could not be significantly surpassed. We were – but not Marseille."

Shortly afterwards, Marseille undertook an extended 'propaganda tour' speaking about his wartime experiences. In one newsreel from 26 July 1942, he is lovingly mobbed by the Hitler Youth and signs one boy's book: "Do not turn around, always look forward. Your Marseille." He was featured in *Signal* magazine during September, receiving nearly three full mailbags of love letters from female admirers despite being engaged to Hanne-Lies Küpper, a Berlin schoolteacher.

Political rebel

Marseille was greatly admired by the Luftwaffe's Commander-in-Chief Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring, who personally wrote to him after his 101st kill: "I congratulate you on your outstanding combat achievements and proudly and gratefully express my special recognition." Adolf Hitler was also said to be most fond of Marseille, with Galland having allegedly "overheard Hitler say to Marseille that he wanted him to be safe, that Germany would need fine young men like him when the war was over".

Yet the 'Star of Africa' wielded a strong contempt for Nazi politics and brazenly described Hitler as "a rather odd sort" in front of three generals. In particular, Marseille incurred much criticism from visiting superiors and dignitaries for befriending a Black South African prisoner of war, Corporal Mathew 'Mathias' Letulu. This interracial friendship jarred markedly within a white supremacist Wehrmacht which, according to a Luftwaffe disciplinary handbook from 1940, protected the "legacy of an eternal racial and historical heritage that is rooted in centuries past".

Neumann spoke of how Marseille "had a way of flouting his personal celebrity and ignoring what was then the accepted rules of conduct, and this also applied to the racial laws". He simply declared that "where I go, Mathias goes", and Galland recalled how Marseille "played his banned American jazz music so loudly that I was sure the British could hear it in Egypt". Neumann added that Marseille "was far ahead of his time in this respect, I think. He could not condone prejudice in any form. He hated no one that I am aware of, not even his enemies."

Marseille (centre) was renowned for his marksmanship, often downing enemy planes in just 15 bullets or a handful of canon shots

In fact, Marseille had once risked his life to drop a note over a British airfield near El Alamein to inform them of a wounded British pilot he had just shot down. Another time, he personally accompanied an Allied airmen he had shot down to the hospital, staying with him until he knew he would be fine, and even recovering a picture of the airman's wife and child from the downed aircraft to tuck into his pocket. In this way, the 'Star of Africa' became admired by friends and foes alike – but his growing immortalisation could not offer him invincibility in the air.

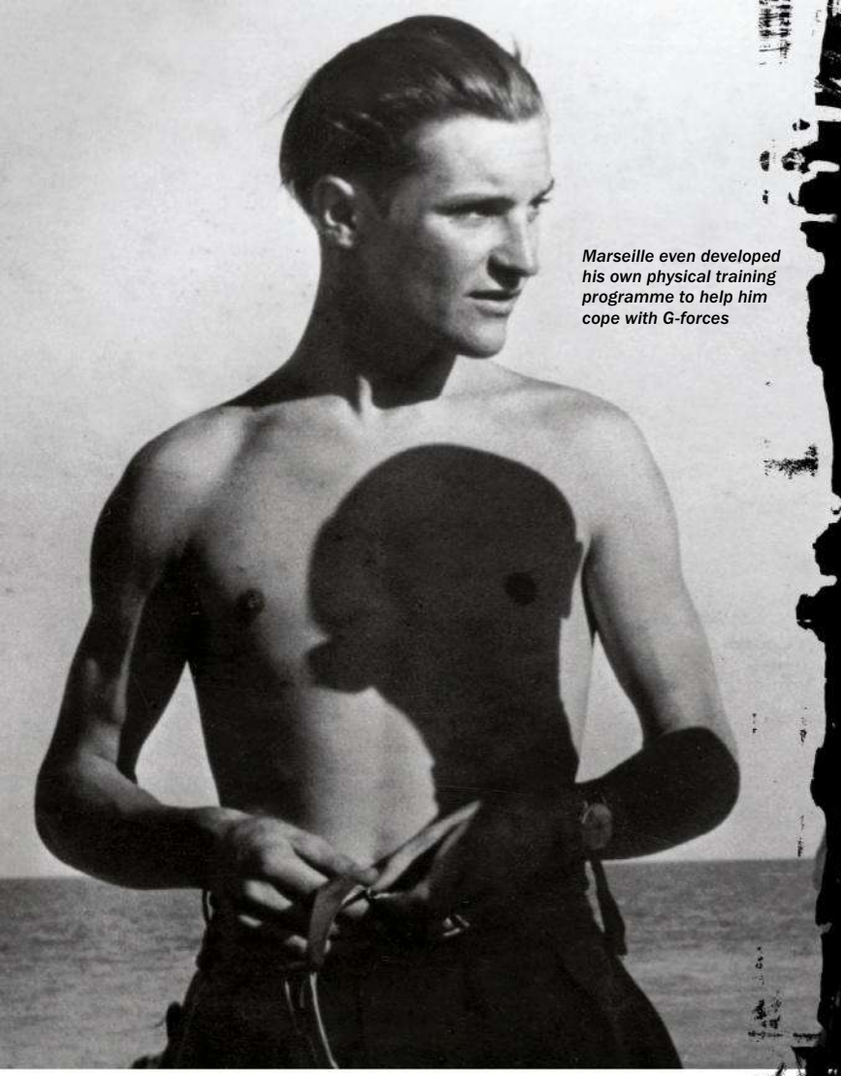
Fallen star

On 30 September 1942, Marseille was returning from a sortie in a newly delivered Bf 109-G2, which began to suffer engine failure; his cockpit was thick with acrid smoke. "I can't see anything!" he called out repeatedly. Despite his fellow pilots trying to call out directions, the smoke began to suffocate him. Tensely uttering his final words – "I have to get out now!" – he flipped the Bf 109 onto its back and baled out from the malfunctioning aircraft. On the way down, however, Marseille collided with the Bf 109's tailfin.

He is often described as having just been incapacitated, but Neumann claims that he smacked the back left flank of his torso on the tailfin and likely died instantly. His friends watched helplessly as he hurtled to the ground; Marseille was no more. The undefeated 'Star of Africa' fell as a supernova in Nazi propaganda, with the *Kleine Volks-Zeitung* reporting that "the German people heard the news with deep pain. The German youth will never lose its role model in their hearts." Unsurprisingly, the Nazi Party's *Völkischer Beobachter* newspaper linked Marseille's death to the National Socialist struggle: "The German people bow in

"MARSEILLE UNDOUBTEDLY REMAINS THE LUFTWAFFE'S ULTIMATE RULE-BREAKER AND RISK-TAKER – WHETHER ON THE GROUND OR IN THE AIR"

A Messerschmitt Bf 109 fighter plane with its 'desert' camouflage, in Libya (North Africa), 1942.



Marseille even developed his own physical training programme to help him cope with G-forces

***Below:** Marseille sits in the cockpit of his Messerschmitt Bf 109. Luftwaffe records claim he once notched up 11 kills in just 14 days in North Africa*

LUFTWAFFE ACES

GERHARD BARKHORN

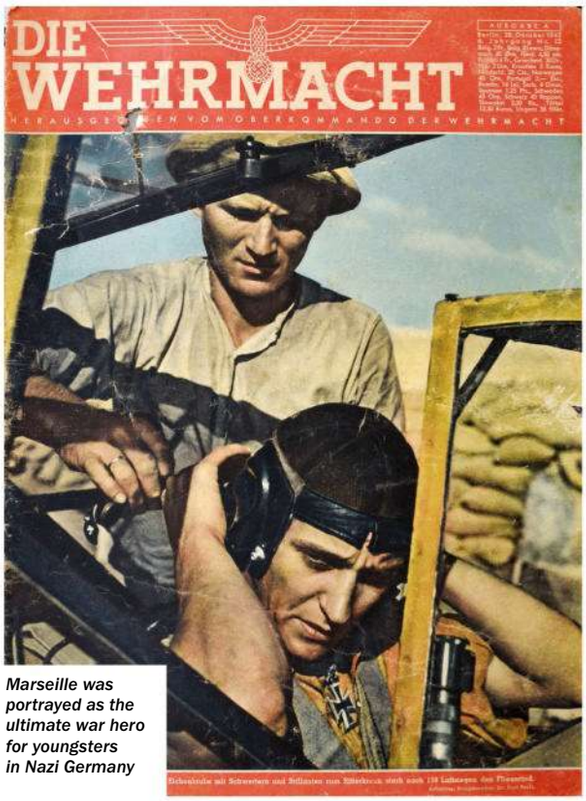
YEARS OF SERVICE: 1938-45

KILLS: 301 TANKS

Of the Luftwaffe's Experten, Gerhard Barkhorn was the second-highest scoring and the only pilot other than Erich Hartmann to achieve over 300 aerial victories. Barkhorn flew with Hartman in Jagdgeschwader 52, a fighter wing on the Eastern Front, where he achieved great success.

After joining the Luftwaffe in 1938, Barkhorn flew during the Battle of Britain, though he had to wait until the launch of Operation Barbarossa in 1941 before he achieved his first victory, on his 120th sortie. Just over a year later he had downed 59 enemy planes and was awarded the Knight's Cross. By January 1943 he had doubled this number during combat in the East and was in command of his own squadron. In May 1944 he was severely wounded during a dogfight when a Soviet P-39 strafed the side of his aircraft, penetrating his cockpit and injuring his right arm and leg. Being hospitalised for several months put a pause on his impressive tally of 273 victories.

In 1945 Barkhorn was handpicked to fly Me 262 fighter jets, though he would not gain any success in the schwalbe, or 'swallow' as it was known. Surviving the war, Barkhorn later served in the Federal German Republic's air force from 1956 until his retirement in 1976.



Marseille was portrayed as the ultimate war hero for youngsters in Nazi Germany

Marseille survived this crash landing near Théville, France, 28 September 1940

An Afrika Korps fuel storage pictured during the North Africa campaign

Marseille allegedly refused to join the Nazi Party in protest of its racial laws

awe to the young hero who fought victoriously in his fight for freedom and died with honour."

The article declared that "a hundred years from now, German boys' eyes will light up when they read the name Marseille". Over 80 years since his death, however, his name regularly provokes discomfort in Germany. In May 2020, Ursula von der Leyen – then defence minister of Germany – initiated a review into renaming the Geschwader ('wings') and Kaserne ('barracks') that still bear the names of Luftwaffe veterans from the Third Reich.

Von der Leyen criticised the fact that names "like Hans-Joachim Marseille or Helmut Lent are still standing at the barracks gate" and argued that "both names belong to a time that cannot be exemplary for us". The updated Bundeswehr guidelines state that barracks can be "named after personalities who are distinguished by their overall work or an outstanding deed for freedom and justice". Admittedly, Marseille was highly progressive for the time in protecting his Black friend within such a vehemently racist system.

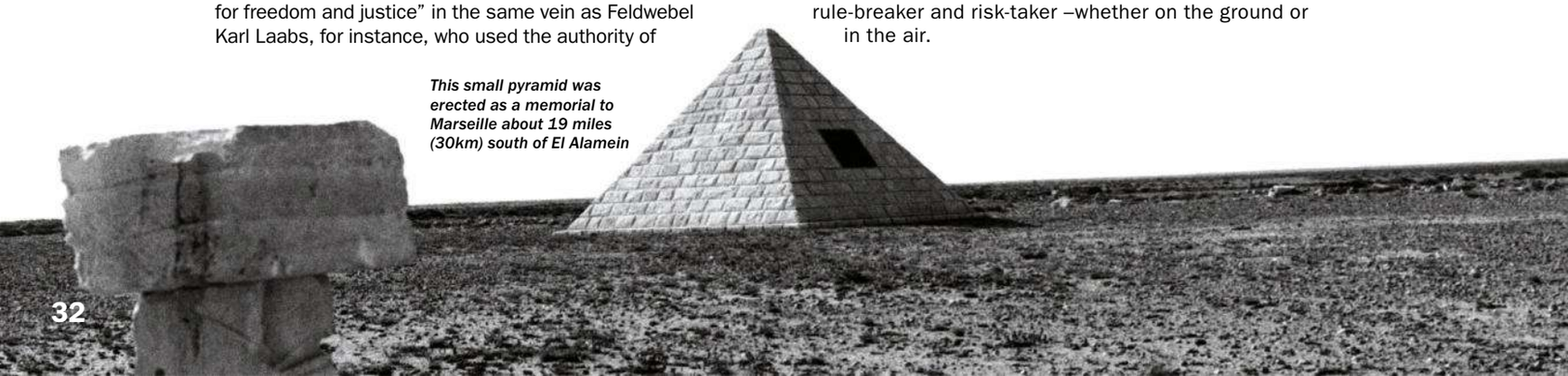
As historians Colin D Heaton and Anne-Marie Lewis put it, he was "a non-conformist rogue in a powerful, professional military where such activity could, and often did, cost a man his rank, his freedom, and even his life". Marseille's friendship spared Letulu from being kept in a POW camp, where he may have incurred poorer treatment from German guards for being Black. Yet, although he ensured that JG 27 would take care of Letulu in the event of his death, Marseille did appoint him as his assistant who did his laundry, cooked his food, cleaned his quarters and bartended unit parties.

This perhaps did not constitute an "outstanding deed for freedom and justice" in the same vein as Feldwebel Karl Laabs, for instance, who used the authority of his Luftwaffe uniform to save 100 Jews from deportation to Auschwitz. That the present-day Bundeswehr Luftwaffe renamed its central lecture halls after Laabs at the Unteroffizierschule in 2022 demonstrates that it is not automatically the names from "a time that cannot be exemplary" which are problematic: rather, it is the reputation which clings to those names. And, for Marseille, that reputation is highly complex and contradictory.

On the one hand, he allegedly refused to join the Nazi Party in protest of the Nazi racial laws, and Neumann even claims Marseille turned down his proffered Oak Leaves with Swords and Diamonds because "Marseille became somewhat aware of the Holocaust". On the other hand, he rarely shied away from the press attention, and his aerial victories had a sizeable impact in the North African theatre. A single cog cannot be blamed for the overall programming of the machine that it is slotted into, and it can sometimes even jam up the system – but that does not mean it is not still turning the gears day-to-day.

Pointing this out is not to be accusatory but to be accurate: it is to remind us of the bigger picture that JG 27 and Marseille were fighting within. We should be cautious, then, about glorifying his memory and accepting Nazi propaganda at face value. But to erase his many extraordinary traits, from the deep compassion he showed his enemies, to his forward-thinking sense of social justice, would unhelpfully simplify his remarkable story.

Marseille undoubtedly remains the Luftwaffe's ultimate rule-breaker and risk-taker –whether on the ground or in the air.



This small pyramid was erected as a memorial to Marseille about 19 miles (30km) south of El Alamein

The wreckage of a Messerschmitt in Tunisia, shortly after the Axis powers were defeated, May 1943

A contradictory figure, Marseille was a willing servant of the Nazi regime he supposedly hated, yet also displayed admirable qualities

LUFTWAFFE ACES

HEINZ-WOLFGANG SCHNAUFER

YEARS OF SERVICE: 1935-45

KILLS: 121

Though he achieved a modest tally compared with many of the Luftwaffe's Experten, Heinz-Wolfgang Schnaufer was unsurpassed in his ability to hunt down enemy aircraft in the dead of night. Schnaufer joined Nachtjagdgeschwader 1 – a Luftwaffe night-fighter air wing – in 1941, where he would take on RAF Bomber Command in the skies over occupied Europe. His first victory was over Belgium when he destroyed a Halifax bomber, though he was badly wounded by returning fire.

In July 1943 he was promoted to oberleutnant with 17 victories chalked up, which by December had grown to 40. He and his fellow night fighters flew Bf 110s, a twin-engine fighter-bomber with forward- and rear-facing guns. As a result, many of Schnaufer's victories were shared with his crew. The 110 also carried radar in order to more effectively hunt in the dark, though during a moonlit night skilled pilots were able to identify enemy formations by sight. One tactic Schnaufer deployed was to approach bombers from below, where they were more vulnerable and less able to return fire. This method proved hugely successful on 21 February 1945, when Schnaufer and his crew downed nine RAF bombers.

ERICH HARTMANN

YEARS OF SERVICE: 1940-45

KILLS: 352

Just 20 years old when he first arrived on the Eastern Front, Erich Hartmann achieved an unsurpassed 352 aerial victories, making him the highest-scoring fighter ace in history.

A member of the Hitler Youth, Hartmann was introduced to flying from an early age and by 11 was piloting gliders. He started his Luftwaffe training in 1940 and graduated two years later, joining Jagdgeschwader 52 – or the 52nd fighter wing – on the Eastern Front.

His first aerial victory came in November 1942 while leading an attack on a group of Soviet Il-2 ground-attack aircraft. Piloting a much faster and more agile Bf 109, Hartmann successfully attacked the weaker underside of one of the Soviet planes, causing it to explode. Unfortunately for the young German, the explosion from the enemy aircraft damaged his Messerschmitt, forcing him to perform an emergency landing.

In just a short time, Hartmann notched up an impressive tally of victories, earning him renown among his peers and infamy among Soviet pilots, who nicknamed him the Black Devil. On 2 August he achieved his 50th victory – four months later that number had tripled. His 352nd and final victory came on the final day of the war in Europe. Spotting a Yak-7 performing some celebratory aerial aerobatics, Hartmann struck from above and destroyed it with a well-aimed burst of gunfire. Shortly after landing he was captured and remained a prisoner until 1955.

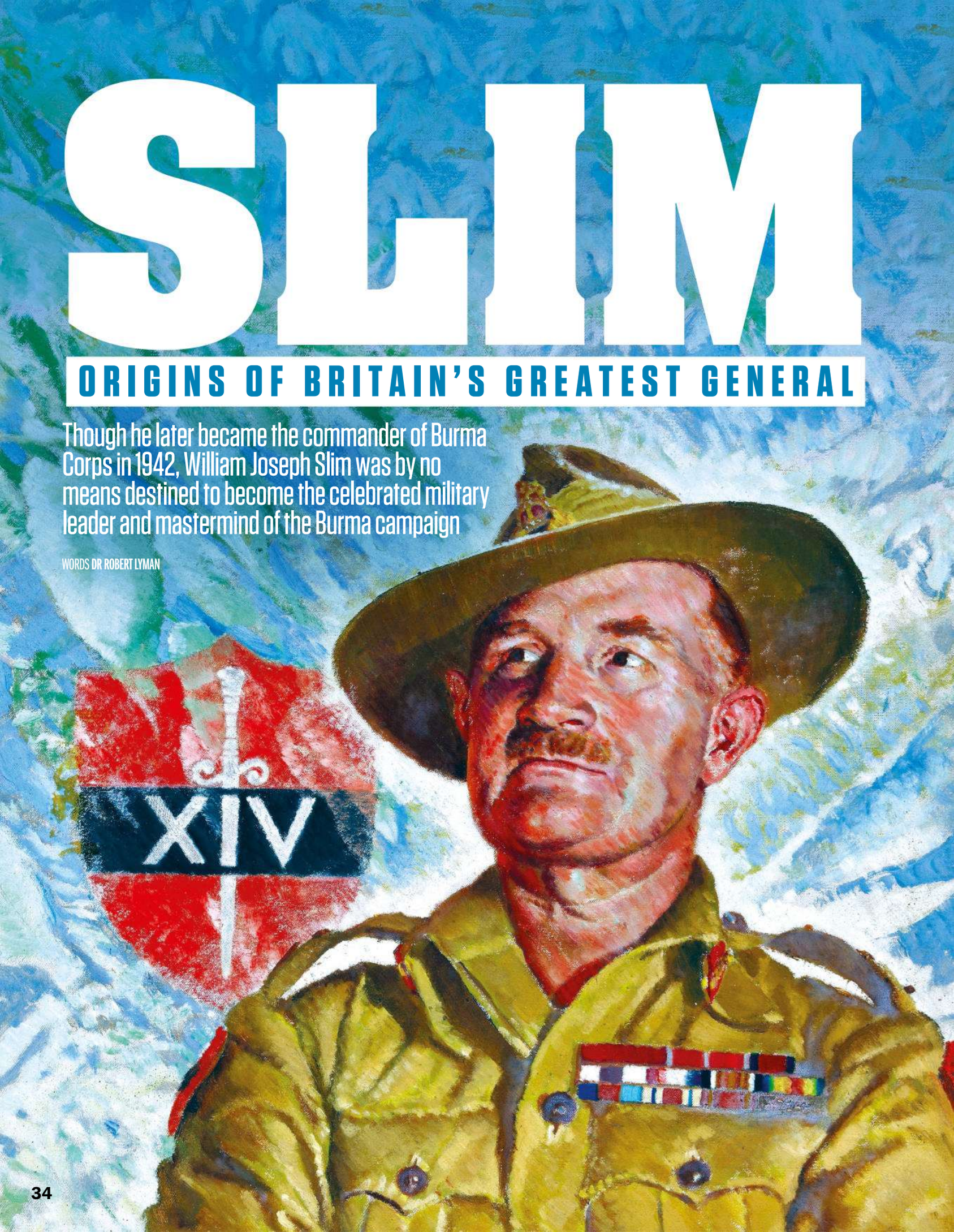
Images: Alamy, Getty

SLIM

ORIGINS OF BRITAIN'S GREATEST GENERAL

Though he later became the commander of Burma Corps in 1942, William Joseph Slim was by no means destined to become the celebrated military leader and mastermind of the Burma campaign

WORDS **DR ROBERT LYMAN**



DAILY HERALD
BRITISH RECAPTURE LOST SUDAN TOWN
Surprise Attack At Dawn
Woman Tried To Send 'Haw-Haw' A Message
BOMBS ON BERLIN FACTORIES: SHIPPING CONVOY ATTACKED
HOME OFFICE SPEED UP
MONDAY NEXT IS POPPY DAY
GREEKS FACE BIG ATTACK IN WEST

***Above, left:** Field Marshal Slim pictured during the war*

***Above, middle:** A British newspaper announcing the capture of Gallabat*

***Above, right:** Slim (on the right) in Iraq in 1918*

The man who was to become Field Marshal Sir William Slim was not born for military grandeur or the acclaim of the battlefield. He found it, nevertheless, through the vicissitudes of two great wars. We know much about his triumph over the Japanese in India in 1944 and Burma in 1945, the two great triumphs that he so ably described in his book *Defeat Into Victory*, first published in 1956 and never out of print since. These victories were dramatic and placed him, in the words of Dr Duncan Anderson, the historian and head of war studies at Sandhurst, "in the same class as Guderian, Manstein and Patton as an offensive commander".

Slim at Gallipoli

If he wasn't born into uniform, what were the factors that allowed him to reach the highest rank – field marshal – and undertake the highest role – chief of the Imperial General Staff – in the British Army? The simple answer is that he liked soldiering and he was good at it. He was also a fast learner and was humble enough to know when he got things wrong.

He had always wanted to be a soldier, but it was the First World War that made it a reality. Slim had wrangled his way into the Birmingham University Officers' Training Corps in 1912 (even though he was not at the university), and was able to be commissioned as a temporary second lieutenant in the Royal Warwickshire Regiment on 22 August 1914. It was with the 9th Warwicks that, on 8 August 1915, he was badly wounded by a Turkish machine gun while attempting, at the head of his very depleted company, to storm Hill 971 on the Sari Bair ridge. By the time the Warwicks reached the start point of the brigade attack, the men of 1st Battalion, 6 Gurkha Rifles to their right, Slim's company had been reduced to 50 men, and he was its third commander in 48 hours. They were all dog tired.

"For three nights and two days," he later wrote, "with very little sleep, not much food and less water, we had scrambled, climbed and wandered, often lost, through this jumble of ravines and ridges." Clambering forward, too tired even to duck to avoid the whistling bullets, he led his men into the teeth of the Turkish defences. He was then hit by machine gun fire from the ridge to his right, and he fell to the ground unconscious. He was lucky to survive, the bullet missing his spine by a fraction. In the four days following the landing of the 9th Warwicks in the Dardanelles the battalion suffered 414 casualties.

His experience of Sari Bair – the chaos, lack of proper attention to requirements for resupply and medical care, and the appalling distance between the senior officers and the men they commanded – had a profound and long-lasting impact on the young officer, new to the human agony of war. For him, the fighting man always came first. It was this fundamental principle of good leadership that Slim explained to an audience of officers of 11th East African Division on the Imphal Plain in 1944: "I tell you, therefore, as officers, that you will neither eat, nor drink, nor sleep, nor smoke, nor even sit down until you have personally seen that your men have done those things. If you will do this for them, they will follow you to the end of the world. And, if you do not, I will break you."

"HE LIKED SOLDIERING AND HE WAS GOOD AT IT. HE WAS ALSO A FAST LEARNER AND WAS HUMBLE ENOUGH TO KNOW WHEN HE GOT THINGS WRONG"

At Gallipoli he had ended up commanding his company as a temporary second lieutenant. A year later, in October 1916, fully convalesced, he rejoined his battalion in Mesopotamia. He was wounded a second time, in the arm, in 1917 and was awarded the Military Cross. Evacuated to India, he was given the temporary rank of major in the 6th Gurkha Rifles on 2 November 1918. He was formally promoted to captain and transferred to the Indian Army on 22 May 1919. From then on until he took brigade command in 1940 his life was that of a regimental officer of 6th Gurkha Rifles. He was home. He excelled at regimental soldiering, and loved his Gurkha soldiers, a rare breed of warrior whom he had first encountered on that bloody Gallipoli ridge in August 1915.

His success was evidenced by his appointment as adjutant of the battalion in 1921, the most important commissioned post in the battalion beside that of the commanding officer. The adjutant, as the commanding officer's staff officer, was responsible for the behaviour and discipline of all the officers, for the training of new recruits and for the orderliness of the battalion in its day-to-day functioning. It was a post for a senior and experienced captain, with the personality and character to achieve the difficult balance of quiet, unstated but obvious discipline necessary in a happy regiment. When Second Lieutenant Bruce Scott arrived in the battalion in 1922 he was struck by the quiet control Slim exerted over the battalion: "Without being sergeant-major-ish Slim, through his firm and tactful handling, kept everybody in their right place… with the result that we were a very happy crowd. He was a perfectionist – under his eye the guardmounting and bugles very quickly became as good as they had ever been; he spoke the language well, knew the men intimately and they in turn had a respect and affection for him."

Inter-war service

During this period Slim spent the equivalent of four years with his battalion on the North West Frontier, preserving the peace against the wiles of the Tochi Wazirs. These were campaigns which emphasised individual soldiering skills, marksmanship and physical fitness, as well as the leadership and professionalism of the junior, regimental leaders. It was a crucially important proving ground for the Indian Army's junior leaders. Many of those who came to prominence in Burma during the Second World War cut their teeth in the North West Frontier between the wars.

In 1926 Slim was sent to the Indian Staff College at Quetta where he graduated as the top student. His performance at Staff College resulted in his appointment first to Army Headquarters India in Delhi and then to Staff College, Camberley, in England, where he taught from 1934 to 1937. A fellow instructor at Camberley, Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Nye, who was later to become vice chief of the Imperial General Staff, was struck by Slim's ability, regarding him to be "probably the best all-round officer of his rank in the Imperial Army. One could not fail to respect him since he had two qualities at a very high degree – quality of character which included complete integrity and at the same time the quality of a very good intellect. One does not often come across a man with both these qualities so developed." Slim's strength, Nye believed, lay in his "complete sanity and soundness, for he was a man who always had his feet on the ground, and he had a sense of stability, solidity and reliability". Could, from this soundness and

certainty, be found the well-springs of genius? Nye thought so, for Slim's other characteristic was a first-class brain, which he used to think in a logical and ruthlessly analytical way. Only war, of a major kind, would put this capability to the test. Although none of them knew it yet (but many suspected), the opportunity to do so was not too far distant.

Blunders in Africa

In 1938, Slim was promoted to lieutenant-colonel and given command of 2nd Battalion, 7th Gurkha Rifles. On 8 June 1939, he was promoted to the temporary rank of brigadier and appointed head of the Senior Officers' School at Belgaum, India.

On the outbreak of the Second World War, Slim was given command of the 10th Indian Brigade of the 5th Indian Infantry Division and was sent to Sudan. He took part in the East African Campaign to liberate Ethiopia from the Italians, and was to learn much from this experience that was to influence him in later years. In particular, his brigade faltered during an offensive against the Italians in the area of Gallabat Fort in early November 1940, and Slim subsequently chastened himself for being insufficiently aggressive. After capturing the fort he failed to press his advantage immediately. The Essex Regiment had suffered 45 casualties in the attack, most of his 12 tanks had been destroyed by mines and the Italians retained command of the air. Slim, in his words, "took counsel of his fears" and did not press on to his objective, the nearby village of Metemma. It was a mistake. Metemma had been about to surrender to the advancing British when Slim called his brigade to a halt. The Italians counter-attacked from the air and Slim, eager to avoid unnecessary casualties, decided to withdraw.

"THE ADVANCE INTO SYRIA WAS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT IN THE INTENSE HEAT AND CLOUDS OF DUST"

March into the Middle East

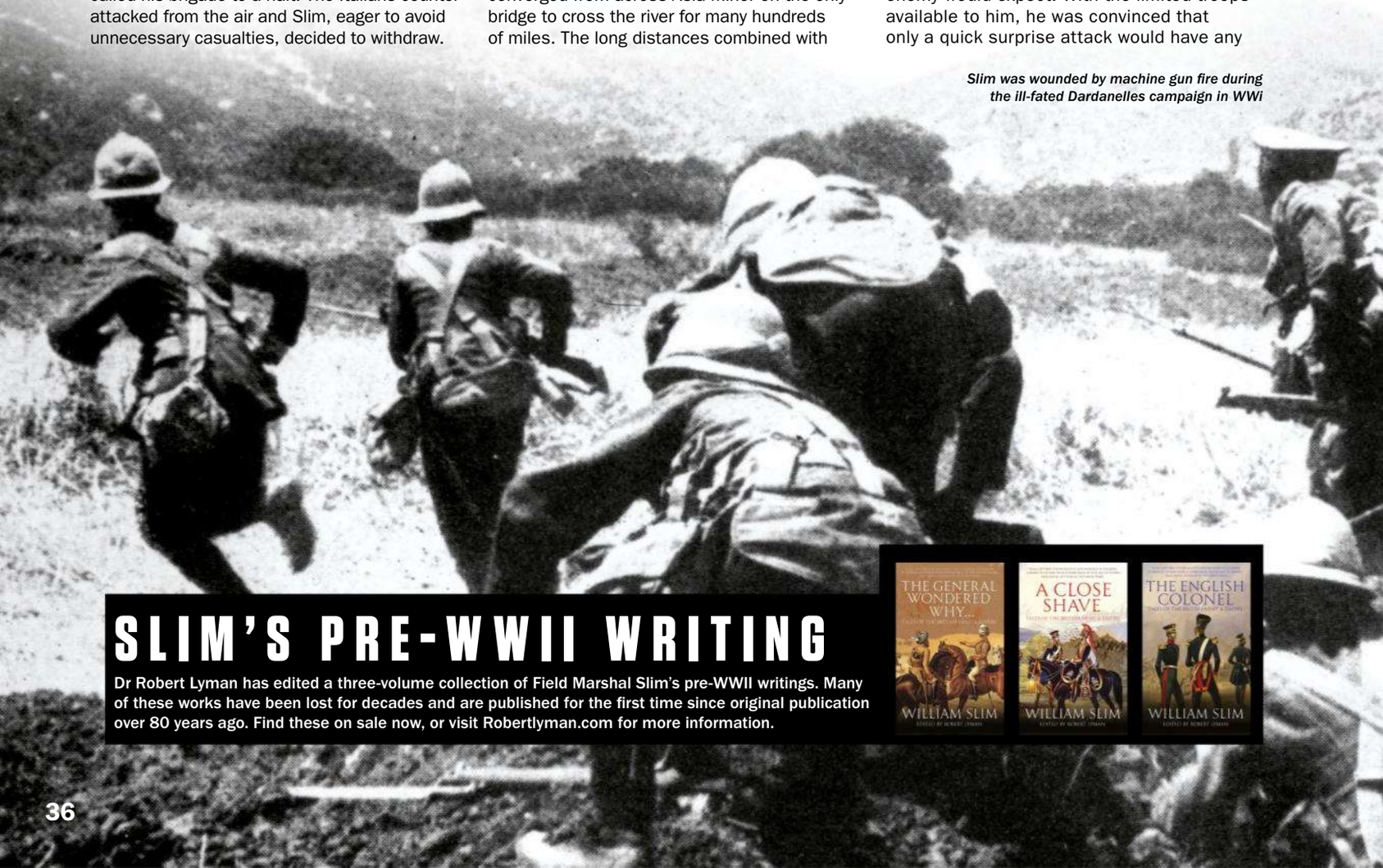
He was lucky to have a second chance for, as he himself admitted, he had performed poorly. In the fighting for Keren in January 1941 he was wounded in the buttocks by a strafing Italian fighter. Soon afterwards, however, he had the opportunity to rectify the failure at Gallabat. In June 1941 he was given the rank of acting major general and command of the 10th Indian Infantry Division in Iraq at the closing stages of the Anglo-Iraqi War and the opening of the Syria-Lebanon campaign. It was during the second of these campaigns that he demonstrated extraordinary qualities of resourcefulness and ingenuity, without which his plan may well have failed. Slim's division advanced into eastern Syria from Iraq in mid-June 1941 as part of a three-pronged invasion of Vichy territory designed to prevent Hitler gaining a foothold in the Middle East.

Archibald Wavell's plan (he was the British commander-in-chief Middle East) was for Slim's division to apply pressure on Syria's eastern flank through the capture of the town of Deir-ez-Zor on the Upper Euphrates and then advance on Aleppo. The capital of Eastern Syria and a historic crossing of the Euphrates, Deir-ez-Zor was the meeting place of desert tracks that converged from across Asia Minor on the only bridge to cross the river for many hundreds of miles. The long distances combined with a lack of adequate transport for his division and the difficulties of maintaining a long line of communication for his petrol and stores, particularly in the face of regular attacks by insurgents, made any long-range penetration with substantial forces a significant challenge.

Because of these difficulties and the need to protect his supply lines while he advanced, Slim decided to advance with one brigade forward while his other brigade guarded his rear. Establishing a base first at the straggling riverside village of Haditha, part-way between Habbaniya and the Vichy border, he stocked it with supplies for 15 days. On the 28th the frontier post at Abu Kemal was captured, but the French had by that time fled. By stripping Iraq Command bare, Slim gathered some 300 three-ton trucks to assist in his advance up the Euphrates. In total his leading brigade had some 800 vehicles: the plan was to advance with these about 200 miles (320km) in two days.

The advance into Syria was extremely difficult in the intense heat and clouds of dust, made worse by the movement of such a large number of vehicles. Deir-ez-Zor was well defended by machine gun posts and concrete gun emplacements, especially to the south and west of the town. The garrison was said to comprise between 2,000-4,000 troops, with up to four batteries of artillery, a desert company, Foreign Legionnaires and armoured cars. This was not a place that would fall to a conventional attack. Even if he did have a preponderance of troops, Slim was not by now disposed to tactics that would have entailed an attack from a direction the enemy would expect. With the limited troops available to him, he was convinced that only a quick surprise attack would have any

Slim was wounded by machine gun fire during the ill-fated Dardanelles campaign in WWi



SLIM'S PRE-WWII WRITING

Dr Robert Lyman has edited a three-volume collection of Field Marshal Slim's pre-WWII writings. Many of these works have been lost for decades and are published for the first time since original publication over 80 years ago. Find these on sale now, or visit Robertlyman.com for more information.

***Above, left:** Slim as adjutant of 1st Battalion 6th Gurkha Rifles, 1924*

***Above, middle:** 'Slim's Lambs', Slim as a Lance Corporal in the Birmingham University OTC before WWI*

***Above, right:** Slim as we remember him in 1945, resolutely leading his 14th Army to victory against the Japanese in Burma*

chance of success. Accordingly, a plan was hatched in which most of the forward brigade would move to the north in a conventional approach while at the same time a motorised column would make their way in a wide flanking move across the desert to attack the town from the rear. In the process it was hoped that the defenders would be surprised and their defence dislocated.

The plan was risky. The 80-mile (130km) approach through the desert could easily have been discovered from the air, and navigation in the desert was notoriously difficult. However, Slim was convinced that boldness was the right approach, and he was certain that with careful control his plan had every chance of success. The advance on the right flank began on 1 July and made good progress, although the column was attacked a number of times from the air. However, at the end of the first day of travel the motorised column out in the desert flank had been badly dispersed by a sand storm, attacked from the air, and had consumed more fuel than planned, making it doubtful that it would reach the rear of Deir-ez-Zor as planned. The brigade commander ordered the column to stop. When, very early the next morning Slim discovered that his plan had gone awry, he leapt into a vehicle and drove immediately across the desert in the darkness to reach the stationary column.

Reviewing his options, Slim determined that the approach most likely to succeed, despite its risks, was his original plan, despite the over-consumption of fuel. Every way he looked at it, the desert flank option was vastly superior to the idea of mounting a frontal attack. Siphoning petrol from all vehicles not required for the operation, Slim managed to provide just enough fuel – 5,000 gallons (23,000lt) – to enable his desert column to continue. The column emerged to the rear of Deir-ez-Zor just as planned at first light on 3 July, catching the defenders in an unexpected pincer which determined the battle. After a day of fighting the surrounded Vichy forces surrendered. Slim's division was now free, resupplied from captured stores, to motor deep into Syria and complete the strategic squeeze which Wavell had applied against the country and which led to its eventual collapse.

The following month Slim led his division in the four-day invasion of Persia. His experience of command was developing rapidly, and in the deftness and calmness of decisions made under the threat of imminent failure he made an immediate impression on his superiors. He was twice mentioned in despatches during 1941 and received the Distinguished Service Order for his victory at Deir-ez-Zor. Through these experiences, both good and bad, Slim was perfectly prepared for the considerable challenges he was to face when he arrived in Burma in March 1942. That, however, is another story entirely.

Images: Alamy, Getty, Robert Lyman

FURTHER READING

- Robert Lyman *Slim, Master of War: Burma and the Birth of Modern Warfare* (London: Constable, 2004)
- Robert Lyman *First Victory: Britain's Forgotten Struggle in the Middle East, 1941* (London: Constable, 2006)
- Robert Lyman *The Generals* (London: Constable, 2008)

★★★ THE ★★★

CONFEDERATE CHEROKEE

Stand Watie, a chieftain and politician, was the final senior officer of the rebel forces to surrender during the American Civil War

WORDS MAREK SOBIERALSKI

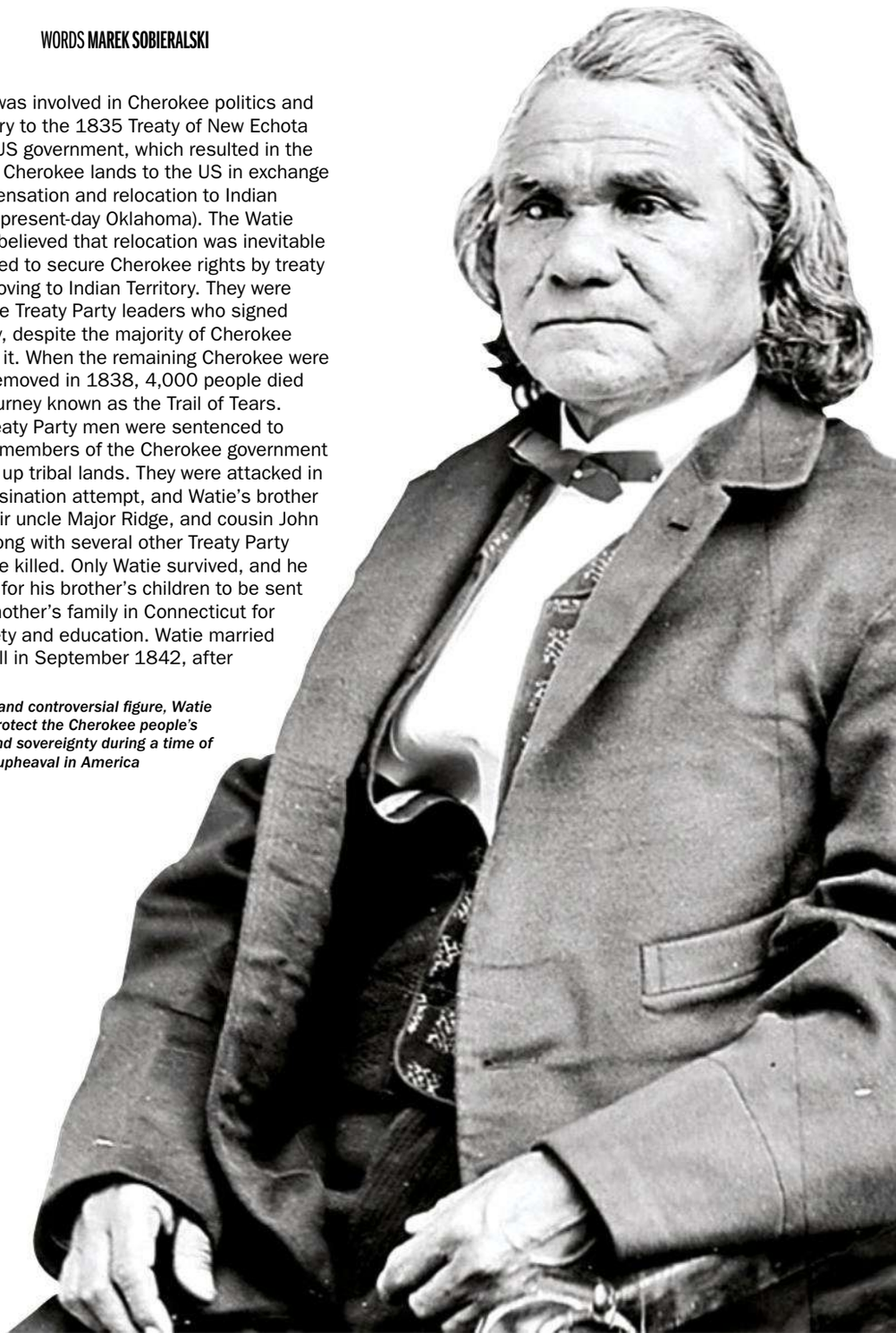
Brigadier-General Stand Watie, a prominent Cherokee politician, was the last Confederate general in the field to surrender to the Union, over two months after General Robert E Lee, and one month after General Edmund Kirby Smith. The Cherokee Nation was allied to the Confederacy during the American Civil War (1861-65), and Watie was the only Native American to attain the rank of general in the Confederate Army. His military career was marked by both successes and setbacks, as were his private and political lives.

He was born in Oothcaloga, Cherokee Nation, on 12 December 1806. His parents were David Uwatie, a Cherokee and wealthy planter who held African-American slaves, and Susanna Reese, who was the daughter of a Cherokee mother and white father. Watie's Cherokee name was Degataga, meaning 'standing firm', which was later anglicised to Stand Watie.

He received little formal education, but learned to read and write English at the Moravian mission school in Spring Place, which is now in Georgia. He was fluent in both Cherokee and English, and occasionally helped write articles for the *Cherokee Phoenix* newspaper, where his older brother Elias was editor from 1828 to 1832. It was the first Native American newspaper, and published articles in both Cherokee and English. As tensions grew over Georgia's oppressive anti-Indian laws and following the discovery of gold on Cherokee lands, the conflict between the Native Americans and US government intensified. Congress passed the Indian Removal Act in 1830, and in 1832 Georgia confiscated most of the Cherokee land. A militia was sent by the state to destroy the offices and printing press of the *Cherokee Phoenix*.

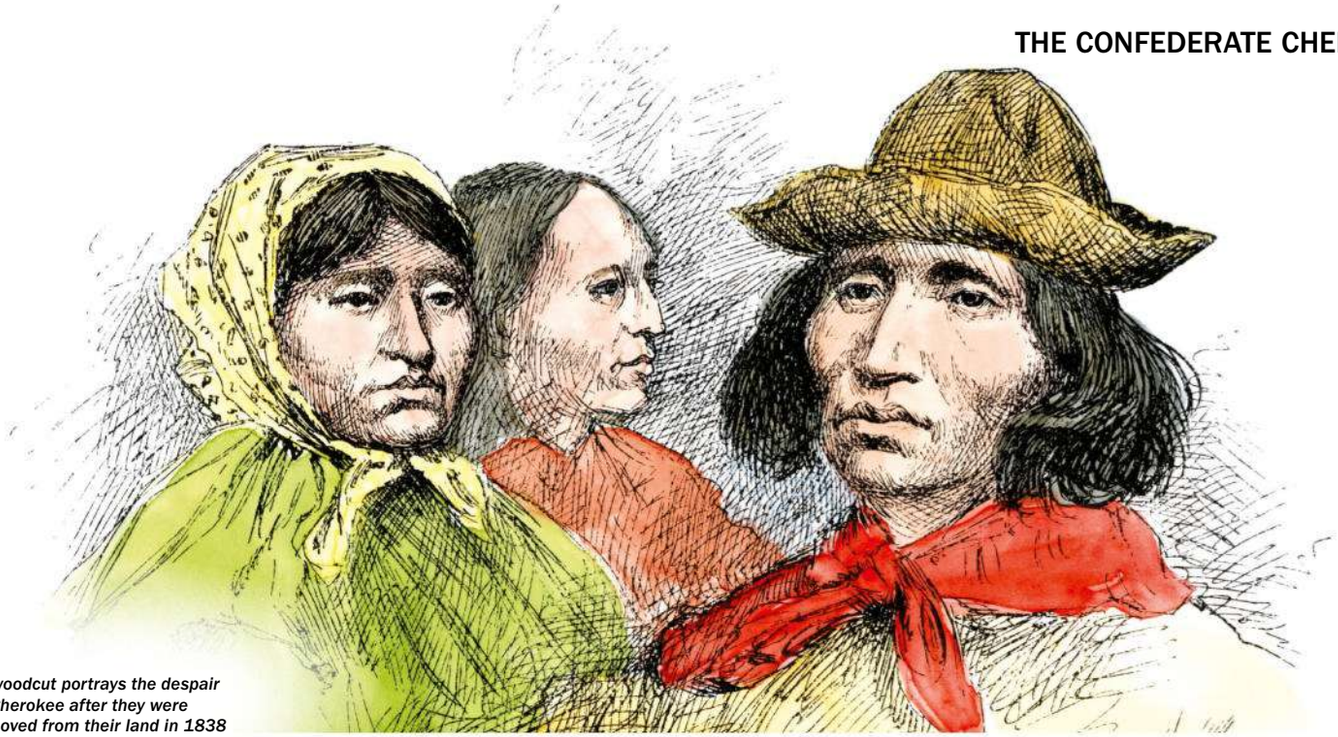
Watie was involved in Cherokee politics and a signatory to the 1835 Treaty of New Echota with the US government, which resulted in the ceding of Cherokee lands to the US in exchange for compensation and relocation to Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma). The Watie brothers believed that relocation was inevitable and wanted to secure Cherokee rights by treaty before moving to Indian Territory. They were part of the Treaty Party leaders who signed the treaty, despite the majority of Cherokee opposing it. When the remaining Cherokee were forcibly removed in 1838, 4,000 people died on the journey known as the Trail of Tears.

The Treaty Party men were sentenced to death by members of the Cherokee government for giving up tribal lands. They were attacked in an assassination attempt, and Watie's brother Elias, their uncle Major Ridge, and cousin John Ridge, along with several other Treaty Party men, were killed. Only Watie survived, and he arranged for his brother's children to be sent to their mother's family in Connecticut for their safety and education. Watie married Sarah Bell in September 1842, after



A complex and controversial figure, Watie fought to protect the Cherokee people's interests and sovereignty during a time of chaos and upheaval in America

"IN 1842 WATIE ENCOUNTERED ONE OF HIS UNCLE'S KILLERS, JAMES FOREMAN, AND KILLED HIM"



This 1890 woodcut portrays the despair felt by the Cherokee after they were forcibly removed from their land in 1838

moving to Indian Territory. Their families had been long-time friends. They had three sons: Saladin, Solon and Cumiska, none of whom survived their father. They also had two daughters, Minnee and Jacqueline, but no grandchildren.

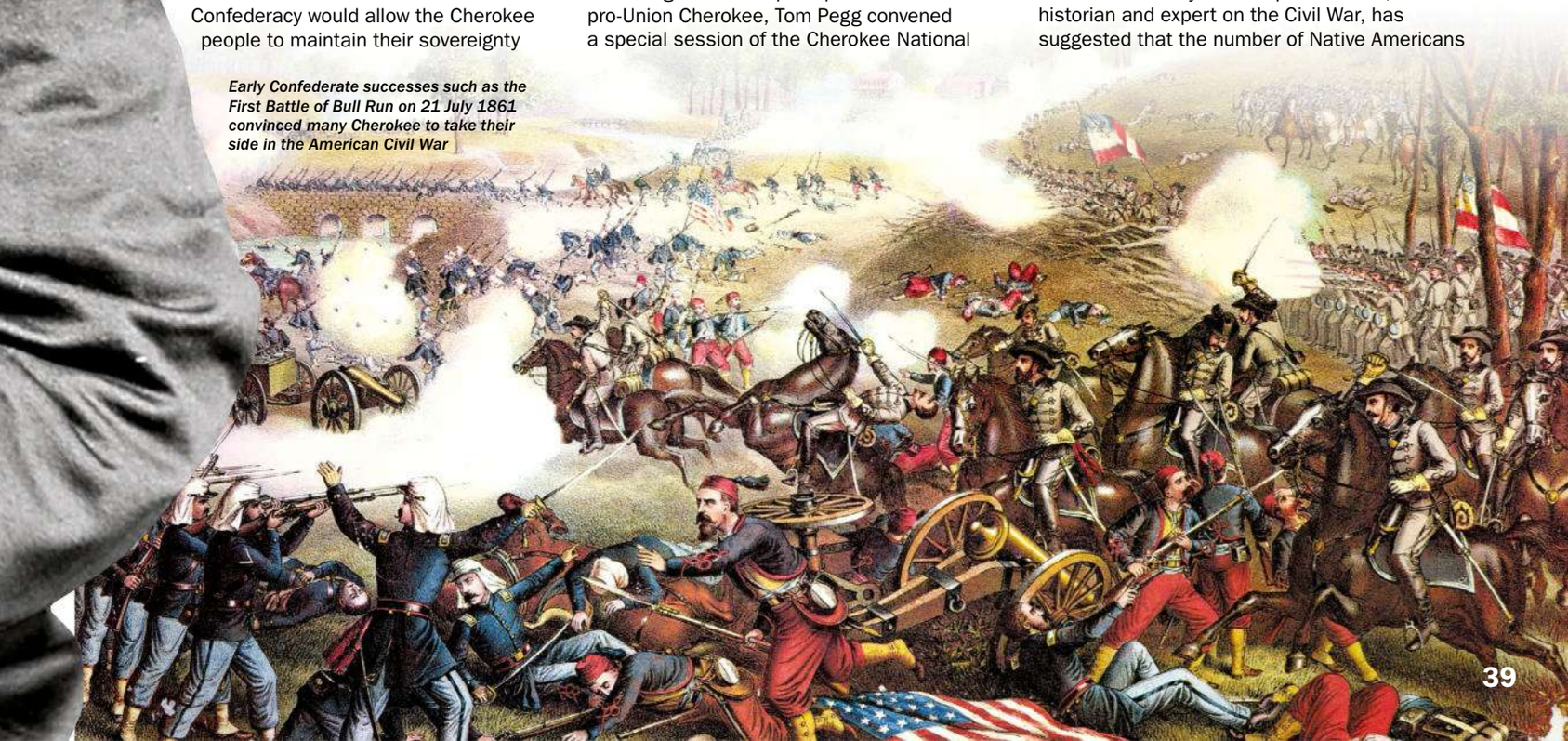
In 1842 Watie encountered one of his uncle's killers, James Foreman, and killed him. This was part of the violence within the tribe following the removal, which had been on the verge of civil war for years. In the 1850s, Watie was tried for the murder of Foreman but was acquitted on grounds of self-defence. He played a leading role in the government of Indian Territory, serving as a judge and a member of the Cherokee National Council. Tensions between the Cherokee and the US government continued to escalate, up until 1861 when the American Civil War broke out.

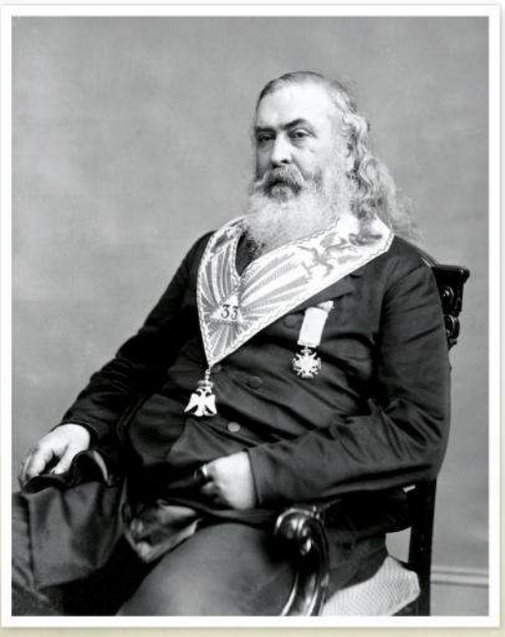
The Cherokee were divided over the conflict, with some supporting the Confederacy and others supporting the Union. Watie was a strong supporter of the Confederacy, and became one of the most prominent Native American leaders in the war. He believed that the Confederacy would allow the Cherokee people to maintain their sovereignty and protect their interests in Indian Territory. He served as second principal chief of the Cherokee Nation between 1862 and 1866. However, the nation was divided, with one side led by Principal Chief John Ross (Cherokee: Guwisguwi, 'Mysterious Little White Bird'), and the other side by Watie.

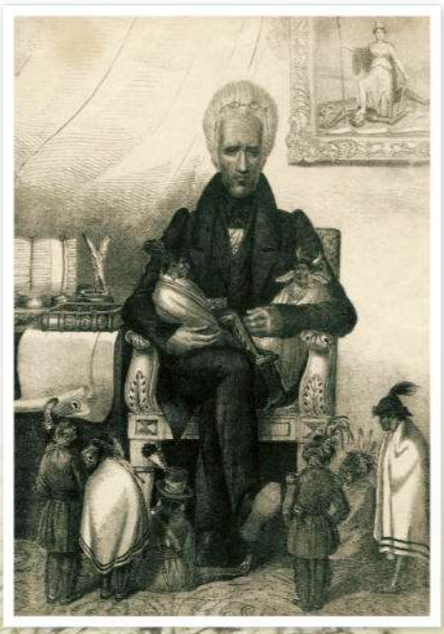
Despite Ross' vow to remain neutral, Confederate victories at the First Battle of Bull Run and Wilson's Creek led him to change that approach. The Federal government had abandoned Native American territory early in the war, which meant the area was vulnerable to Confederate occupation. In 1861 Ross signed an alliance with the Confederate States in an effort to avoid disunity in Indian Territory, but within a year he and part of the National Council concluded that the agreement was disastrous. Watie replaced Ross as principal chief after Ross fled to Federal-controlled territory, but Ross' supporters refused to recognise the validity of the election. After assuming the role of principal chief of the pro-Union Cherokee, Tom Pegg convened a special session of the Cherokee National Council in response to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863. On 18 February 1863, a resolution was passed during the session which declared the emancipation of all slaves within the borders of the Cherokee Nation. Following the outbreak of open warfare between the Confederate and Union Cherokee in Indian Territory, delegations from both factions were sent to Washington after the end of the Civil War. Despite Watie's efforts to gain recognition for a separate Southern Cherokee Nation, this goal was never achieved.

The Civil War was supposed to be an opportunity for the Native Americans, but this turned out to be an illusion. It was frequently a cover for Native Americans to conduct their internal tribal conflicts, with both the Confederates and Union supporting individual factions with training and equipment. In 1861, Watie raised a regiment of Cherokee volunteers, known as the Cherokee Mounted Rifles, and was appointed a colonel in the Confederate Army. Dr Joseph Glatthaar, an historian and expert on the Civil War, has suggested that the number of Native Americans

Early Confederate successes such as the First Battle of Bull Run on 21 July 1861 convinced many Cherokee to take their side in the American Civil War







Above: *Brigadier-General Albert Pike created Cherokee regiments for the Confederacy. Reports of Cherokee troops scalping Union soldiers led to his resignation*

Above, middle: *John Ross, principal chief of the Cherokee Nation, signed an alliance with the Confederates but soon saw it as a mistake. He fled and was replaced by Watie*

Above, right: *This 1835 cartoon satirises President Andrew Jackson's belief that the Indian Removal Act of 1830 was merciful and generous*

John Ross' house in Ringgold, Georgia, was seized and used as a makeshift hospital by both sides in the war

Below: *The Cherokee Phoenix was the first Native American newspaper and published articles in both Cherokee and English*

GWY J.ƉAUO.Ꭿ.

CHEROKEE PHŒNIX.

VOL. I. NEW ECHOTA, THURSDAY FEBRUARY 21, 1828. NO. 1.

EDITED BY ELIAS BOUDINOTT.

PRINTED WEEKLY BY

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AT NEW ECHOTA, THE CHEROKEE NATION.

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To subscribers who can read only the Cherokee language the price will be $1 50 in advance, or $2 00 to be paid within the year.

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The Phœnix will be printed on a Super-Royal sheet, with type entirely new procured for the purpose. Any person procuring six subscribers, and becoming responsible for the payment, shall receive a seventh gratis.

Advertisements will be inserted at fifty cents per square for the first insertion, and fifteen cents and a half cents for each continuance; larger ones in proportion.

☞All letters addressed to the Editor, post paid, will receive due attention.

CONSTITUTION OF THE CHEROKEE NATION,

Formed by a Convention of Delegates from the several Districts, at New Echota, July 1827.

WE, THE REPRESENTATIVES of the people of the CHEROKEE NATION in Convention assembled, in order to establish justice, insure tranquility, promote our common welfare, and secure to ourselves and our posterity the blessings of liberty, acknowledging with humility and gratitude the goodness of the sovereign Ruler of the Universe, in affording us an opportunity so favorable to the design, and imploring his aid and direction in its accomplishment, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the Government of the Cherokee Nation.

ARTICLE I.

Sec. 1. THE BOUNDARIES of this nation, embracing the lands solemnly guaranteed and reserved forever to the Cherokee Nation by the Treaties concluded with the United States, are as follows; and shall forever hereafter remain unalterably the same—to wit—Beginning on the North Bank of Tennessee River at the upper part of

readmission. Moreover, the Legislature shall have power to adopt such laws and regulations, as its wisdom may deem expedient and proper, to prevent the citizens from monopolizing improvements with the view of speculation.

ARTICLE II.

Sec. 1. THE POWER of this Government shall be divided into three distinct departments;—the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judicial.

Sec. 2. No person or persons, belonging to one of these Departments, shall exercise any of the powers properly belonging to either of the others, except in the cases hereinafter expressly directed or permitted.

ARTICLE III.

Sec. 1. THE LEGISLATIVE POWER shall be vested in two distinct branches; a Committee, and a Council; each to have a negative on the other, and both to be styled, the General Council of the Cherokee Nation; and the style of their acts and laws shall be,

"RESOLVED by the Committee and Council in General Council convened."

Sec. 2. The Cherokee Nation, as

Victory at the Battle of Wilson's Creek, 10 August 1861, gave the Confederates control of southwestern Missouri

who fought in the conflict may have been around 30,000. In his book *Forgotten Allies: The Oneida Indians and the American Revolution*, Glatthaar argues that Native Americans were more heavily involved in the war effort than has previously been acknowledged, and that many of them served in roles such as scouts and guerrilla fighters. Most historians estimate that approximately 20,000 Native American soldiers served in the Civil War, mainly on the side of the Confederacy. They fought in many battles, hoping to win the favour of the ruling government. They also saw military service as a means of ending discrimination and being forcibly relocated from their ancestral lands to reservations in the west. Instead, the Civil War proved to be a failed effort to stop aggressive American expansion. While the war was raging and African-Americans were declared free, the US government continued its policy of pacification and removal of indigenous peoples.

Watie was a daring cavalryman, and skilled in hit-and-run tactics. He was considered a genius of guerrilla warfare, and the most successful field commander west of the Mississippi River. He fought Federal troops, but he also led his men in fighting between factions of the Cherokee and in attacks on Cherokee civilians and farms, as well as against the Creek, Seminole and others in Indian Territory who supported the Union. His regiment, known as the Cherokee Mounted Rifles, played a significant role in several key battles in the Western theatre of the war. They fought in the Battle of Pea Ridge in Arkansas in March 1862, where his troops captured Union artillery positions and covered the retreat of Confederate forces from the battlefield after

"WATIE HIMSELF WAS CRITICISED FOR HIS LEADERSHIP STYLE, WHICH SOME DESCRIBED AS AUTOCRATIC AND INEFFECTIVE"

the Union took control. However, Cherokee support for the Confederacy declined sharply, and most of the Cherokees who had joined Colonel John Drew's regiment defected to the Union side, while Drew, a nephew of Ross, remained loyal to the Confederacy.

Meanwhile, Watie continued to lead the remnants of his cavalry, and was appointed to the rank of brigadier-general in May 1864. He commanded the First Indian Brigade of the Army of the Trans-Mississippi, which was composed of two regiments of Mounted Rifles and three battalions of Cherokee, Seminole and Osage infantry. They were based south of the Canadian River and sometimes crossed the river into Union territory.

Watie's force reportedly saw more combat west of the Mississippi River than any other unit, fighting in a number of pitched battles and skirmishes in the western Confederate states, including the Indian Territory, Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas and Texas. Watie distinguished himself in what is considered to be the greatest Confederate victory in Indian Territory, the Second Battle of Cabin Creek, which took place in what is now Mayes County, Oklahoma on 19 September 1864. General Richard Montgomery Gano and Watie led a raid that captured a Federal wagon train and seized approximately $1 million-worth of wagons, mules and other much-needed supplies, as the Confederates were struggling to maintain their army in the west. According to Bruce S Allardyce in *Kentuckians in Gray*, his forces also massacred Black hay cutters at Wagoner, Oklahoma, during this raid, with Union reports stating that Watie's Indian cavalry "killed all the Negroes they could find."

Despite his successes, Watie's command was plagued by problems. His troops were often poorly equipped and poorly supplied, and they suffered from desertions and low morale. Watie himself was criticised for his leadership style, which some described as autocratic and ineffective. During the war, most Cherokee became Union supporters, and Watie's family and other Confederate Cherokee took refuge in Rusk and Smith counties of east Texas. The Cherokee and allied warriors became a potent Confederate fighting force that kept Union troops out of southern Indian Territory and large parts of north Texas throughout the war, but they spent most of their time attacking other Cherokee.

In February 1865, Watie was appointed as commander of the Indian Division of Indian Territory by the Confederate Army. However, at this point in time, the Confederates were no longer able to fight effectively in the territory. Eventually, on 23 June 1865, at Doaksville in the Choctaw Nation (now Oklahoma), Watie signed a ceasefire agreement with Union representatives, effectively ending the hostilities in Indian Territory. The surrender was a significant

moment in the war's aftermath, and it marked the beginning of the long process of reconciliation between the Cherokee and the US government. Confederate General Edmund Kirby Smith, commander of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi division, surrendered a month earlier on 26 May, while earlier on 9 April, General Robert E Lee surrendered his 28,000 Confederate troops to Union General Ulysses S Grant.

After the war, Watie returned to his home in Indian Territory and resumed his political career. He supported the Reconstruction policies of the US government and worked to rebuild the Cherokee Nation. He served as a delegate to the Reconstruction-era constitutional convention and was elected to the Cherokee Nation Council. He worked to strengthen the Cherokee Nation's government and economy, supporting the construction of roads and bridges, and encouraging the development of agriculture and industry. He also worked to improve relations between the Cherokee Nation and the US government, which had been strained by the Civil War and its aftermath. Efforts to rebuild the Cherokee Nation were complicated by the fact that it had been bitterly divided by the war. In addition, the US government had imposed new laws and policies on the Cherokee Nation, which, of all the indigenous peoples, was perhaps the most negatively affected during the Civil War.

"WATIE IS REMEMBERED AS A COMPLEX AND CONTROVERSIAL YET SIGNIFICANT FIGURE IN CHEROKEE AND AMERICAN HISTORY"

According to Robert J Conley in *The Cherokee Nation: A History*, the Cherokee population declined by approximately 25 percent during the Civil War. This was due to a combination of factors, including disease, displacement and combat-related deaths. The Cherokee, like many Native American tribes, were deeply impacted by the war, which deeply disrupted their communities and way of life.

Watie served as a member of the Cherokee Delegation to the Southern Treaty Commission, which renegotiated treaties with the US. The government, aware of the fact that the two sides would never see eye to eye on common terms, decided to negotiate with them separately. They were able to play them against each other and extract a number of concessions from both. Following divisions over treaty issues within the Cherokee tribe, a new full-blood Cherokee chief, Lewis Downing, was elected as a compromise candidate. A politically astute and shrewd principal chief, he successfully brought about reconciliation and reunification among the Cherokee. Despite some lingering tensions that ran into the 20th century, the Cherokee did not experience an extended insurrection

The Battle of Pea Ridge in northwest Arkansas, 6-8 March 1862, ended in a Confederate defeat

***Right:** When forced to relocate to Indian Territory, 4,000 Cherokee died on what was called the Trail of Tears*

***Below:** Turner Falls in Oklahoma. The state is part of what was designated Indian Territory*

among pro-Confederate forces that occurred in the South. After the treaty was signed, Watie went into exile in the Choctaw Nation. However, he returned to the Cherokee and Honey Creek shortly after Downing's election, although he tried to stay out of politics. He focused on rebuilding his fortunes, and spent his final years as a planter and businessman, and in assisting in the collection of Cherokee tales and legends. Watie died on 9 September 1871, and was buried in the old Ridge Cemetery, later called Polson's Cemetery, Oklahoma, as a citizen of the Cherokee Nation.

Today, he is remembered as a complex and controversial yet significant figure in Cherokee and American history. He was a leader who fought to protect his people's interests and sovereignty during a time of great change and upheaval. He was willing to ally himself with the Confederacy, despite the fact that its cause was fundamentally opposed to the principles of democracy and equality that he had championed throughout his life. In many ways, Watie's life and career reflect the challenges and contradictions of the Civil War era. He was a Native American leader who fought for a cause that was ultimately defeated, and whose legacy remains contested and controversial to this day. He was born into a world of conflict between Native American tribes and European settlers, and he played a leading role in the struggle for Cherokee sovereignty and self-determination. He worked to try to rebuild the Cherokee Nation and to promote its interests at the local, state and national levels.

On 24 April 1864, Watie wrote to his wife: "Sometimes I examine myself thoroughly and I will always come to the conclusion that I am not such a bad man at last as I am looked upon. God will give me justice if I am to be punished for the opinions of other people, who do not know my heart I can't help it. If I commit an error I do it without bad intention. My great crime on the world is blunder, I will get into scrapes without intention or any bad motive. I call upon my God to judge me, he knows that I love my friends and above all others my wife and children, the opinion of the world to contrary notwithstanding."

Armed struggles had taken place from the time of the first colonists in the Americas, right up until the end of the so-called Indian Wars. The period of the American Civil War was only a small part of the conflicts between the Native Americans and newcomers from Europe. Despite aggressive US policy, Native Americans still hoped they would be able to live in peace next to their new neighbours. The war between the Union and the Confederacy did not change the position of the indigenous peoples, in fact it worsened it. The tribes engaged in fighting among themselves created a favourable situation for the US government to exploit, and the indigenous peoples sometimes became instruments of their own destruction. Yet their dramatic fate – being driven from their lands and pushed to the borders of the continent – did not prevent them from preserving their culture and often achieving successes.

Images: Alamy

DELTA FORCE

THE HISTORY, TRAINING, WEAPONS AND MISSIONS BEHIND THE US'S ELITE ANTI-TERRORISM UNIT

WORDS **CALLUM MCKELVIE**

The armed forces of the United States comprise one of the most formidable military powers in the modern world. Of course there are the Marines and the Navy Seals, but, like a number of countries, the US also has need for military units that can conduct more clandestine operations, away from the full-scale engagements expected of regular troops. For this, one unit in particular has become shrouded in myth and legend: Delta Force. Created to battle an ever-increasing terrorist threat, Delta Force is a highly secretive elite squad that operates in the shadows and has been involved in some of the US's most daring missions…

Origins of Delta Force

Delta Force, officially known as 1st Special Forces Operational Detachment Delta, came into being in 1977 at the behest of Colonel Charles 'Charlie' Alvin Beckwith, who proposed the creation of an elite counter-terrorism unit. Beckwith had worked with the British SAS in Vietnam and proposed a similar strike force for use within the US military. Project Delta, a counterintelligence unit commanded by Beckwith in South Vietnam, proved to be something of a precursor to Delta Force and was highly successful. During the 1970s the US had become the target of an increasing number of terrorist attacks.

Between 1970 and 2013 there were more than 2,600 terrorist acts in the USA, with more than half of these taking place during the 1970s. As well as these internal attacks, there were also high-profile international incidents, such as the four aircraft hijacked by members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in September 1970. Beckwith and his colleagues prepared the 'Robert Redford Paper', which outlined the proposed training for such a unit, a process that would take two years.

A Delta Force operative near the Kandahar Province in Afghanistan

"DURING THE 1970S THE US HAD BECOME THE TARGET OF AN INCREASING NUMBER OF TERRORIST ATTACKS. BETWEEN 1970 AND 2013 THERE WERE MORE THAN 2,600 TERRORIST ACTS IN THE UNITED STATES, WITH MORE THAN HALF OF THESE TAKING PLACE DURING THE 1970S"

Selection and training

Although specific details of the Delta Force training and selection programme is kept under wraps, some information concerning the eligibility and tests has come to light over the years. To be selected, candidates must be at least 21 years old, be an Airborne volunteer or have the relevant training, be capable of obtaining secret security clearance, have no disciplinary action on their record and have two-and-a-half years remaining in service.

From here they must then take the selection tests, one of which involves an 18-mile (29km) march at night, during which the candidate must carry a 40lb (18kg) load in their rucksack. Another similar test involves a 40-mile (64km) route with a 45lb (20kg) weight. Successful candidates are then sent to a training camp and put through a rigorous six-month programme in order to become fully fledged operators. The biggest clue as to the background of these successful trainees came in June of 2006 at a hearing before The Terrorism, Unconventional Threats and Capabilities Subcommittee of the Committee On Armed Services, where General Downing stated that Delta Force is “probably 70 per cent Rangers who have come out of either a Ranger special forces track or directly from a Ranger regiment to Delta”.

Weapons

The official primary weapon used by Delta Force is the Colt M4A1, described by *Weapons Of Delta Force* author and special forces expert Fred Pushies as “a most capable and deadly weapon, suitable to any mission”. The weapon has both a fully and semi-automatic option and is known for its accuracy and ability to fire 5.56mm ammunition. In particular, the M4A1 is noted for its higher penetration rate in an age when enemy combatants are more likely to have access to bulletproof armour.

The weapons used by Delta Force have to be fully compatible with SOPMOD (Special Operations Peculiar MODification) kits – developed to make the M4A1 even more effective in both close-contact and long-distance confrontations. These kits are designed to be adaptable with all guns used by Delta Force and provide everything an operator would need for a variety of missions. SOPMOD kits include everything from a carrying sling to a visible laser sight, sound suppressor and grenade launcher mount. The

Image: Alamy

***Above, left:** Members of Delta Force about to undergo HALO (High-Altitude Low-Opening) training*

***Above:** The exploits of Delta Force were fictionalised as early as 1986, when Chuck Norris and Lee Marvin starred in The Delta Force*

"ONE SELECTION TEST INVOLVES AN 18-MILE (29KM) MARCH AT NIGHT, DURING WHICH THE CANDIDATE MUST CARRY A 40LB (18KG) LOAD"

visible laser is primarily used for precise aiming, though this is not its only purpose – it can also be used to laser a target for the delivery of smart bombs.

In terms of close-range weapons, for years the handgun of choice for Delta Force was the M1911 pistol, customised from the standard version available to domestic gun owners. "The 1911 was revered by the guys!" ex-Delta operator Brian Searcy told *Tactical Life* magazine in a 2017 interview. Searcy explained that shots between 25 to 50 yards were standard with the 1911. However, some reports suggest that when operating in arid or desert terrain, Delta Force some operators prefer the Glock 22. This 40-calibre is deemed to be more suitable to sandy conditions than the 1911, though some operators still prefer the 1911.

Delta equipment

Numerous vehicles have been deployed by Delta Force in its relatively short history. During desert operations, DPVs (Desert Patrol Vehicles) – three-man machines that are similar in design to dune buggies – are used by US special forces including Delta Force. The Scorpion DPV is manufactured by Chenowth Racing Products and the public first saw it in action during Operation Desert Storm in 1991. During the liberation of Kuwait, US Navy Seals using DPVs were among the first coalition to enter the city.

The Scorpion has 200 horsepower, a two-litre engine and can travel at a speed of up to 60mph (97kp/h), with a combat payload of around 1,500lb (680kg). The vehicle has a number of optional weapon-mounting capabilities, including automatic 1.6in (40mm) grenade launchers, .50-calibre heavy machine guns and anti-tank launchers.

Armoured Ground Mobility Systems are the favoured personnel carriers of Delta Force. In 2019 it was announced that plans were in place for a Next Generation Armoured Ground Mobility System to replace the Pandur 1, which was developed by the Austrian company Steyr-Daimler-Puch Spezialfahrzeuge (SSF) back in the 1980s. This new design will carry nine or ten people, have a payload capacity of 4,500lb (2,040kg) or more, and fit inside a C-130 series transport aircraft. It is also expected to have Special Weapons Capability and increased situational awareness. This would improve on the open-topped manned turret and limited visibility of the Pandur 1s.

The Pinzgauer SOV is a 6x6 all-terrain vehicle deployed by Delta Force, as well as a number of other both military and civilian organisations. The Pinzgauer is renowned for its off-road capability and air-cooled engine, which is easy to maintain in difficult terrain. It's thought that Delta Force used Pinzgauers during the early stages of the war in Afghanistan in 2001. During the 2003 invasion of Iraq, Delta Force operators infiltrated Iraq through Saudi Arabia using Pinzgauers.

Debacle in Iran

On 4 November 1979, Iranian students raided the US Embassy in Tehran, detaining more than 50 members of American diplomatic staff. The situation put extreme pressure on President Jimmy Carter to do something drastic in order to free his trapped countrymen. By April 1980, Carter was prepared to use Delta Force in what would be one of the unit's very first missions. Code named Operation Eagle Claw, the mission would ultimately prove disastrous.

The two-night plan involved a small strip of road codenamed Desert One, where on the first night around 100 Delta members and 12 US Rangers were deployed. On the second night, a team of 15 CIA-trained Fasi-speaking Americans and Iranians drove the majority of the Delta Force operators into the capital.

The remaining troops were tasked with cutting the city's power while the Rangers captured the abandoned Manzariyeh Air Base, from which they could land two Lockheed C-141 Starlifter aircraft in order to make their escape. Delta Force was to raid the embassy, kill the guards and move the hostages to a sports stadium located opposite, where the helicopters could take them to the air base and then home.

Iranian demonstrators burn the American flag during the 1979 embassy siege

A Chenowth Scorpion, one of the Desert Patrol Vehicles used by Delta Force

Images: Alamy, Getty

US and Saudi soldiers examine a Scud missile during the first Gulf War. One of the Delta Force's missions during the war was sabotaging Scuds

However, almost none of this occurred. Three of the helicopters ran into trouble and were unable to make the journey, while a group of Rangers securing the deserted road blew up one of the tankers smuggling the fuel. This left only five helicopters – the absolute minimum required for the mission being four. Colonel Beckwith requested to abort and President Carter gave the order. In attempting to refuel during the evacuation, one of the helicopters crashed, killing eight servicemen. The helicopters were subsequently abandoned. Colonel Beckwith retired as a result of the botched mission. The hostages were eventually freed on 20 January 1981 after 444 days in captivity.

Gulf War

Delta Force's next significant mission, during the 1991 Gulf War, would ultimately prove far more successful. Some of the key weapons Saddam Hussein's arsenal were a number of Scuds, a Soviet-made tactical ballistic missile system. On 26 February one of these missiles hit a US airbase in Saudi Arabia, killing 27 servicemen. However, the largest threat posed by Saddam's Scuds was the potential threat against Israel, which would escalate the conflict.

For a while, various ideas were pitched about how Delta could be deployed in the war, with one operator noting later that "Saddam was pretty high on the target deck. Of course, the guys were all up for it, but in the end it came to nothing. We couldn't pinpoint him." Instead, another target was chosen: the Scuds.

The missiles were moved around regularly by the Iraqi forces, making them hard to find, and fake missiles were also built in order to fool Coalition troops. Nonetheless, Delta Force valiantly hunted Scud missiles during the war, and on the final day of the conflict Delta snipers found and neutralised 26 missiles that were aimed at Israel. It's been suggested that the involvement of both US and UK special forces reduced the threat of a Scud attack against Israel by 80 per cent.

"SADDAM HUSSEIN WAS PRETTY HIGH ON THE TARGET DECK. OF COURSE, THE GUYS WERE ALL UP FOR IT"

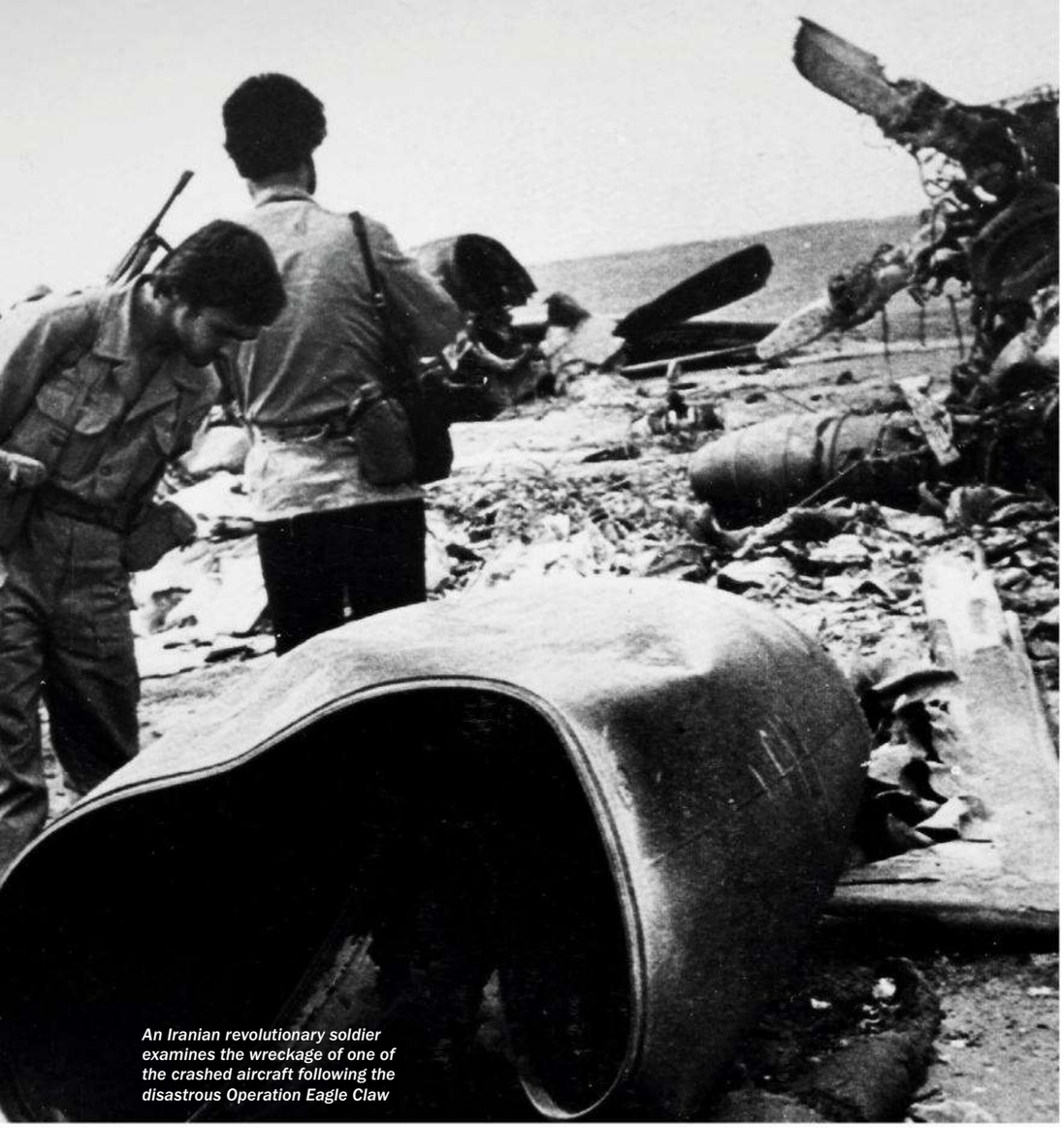
Somalia

Delta operators also played a key role in the 1993 Battle of Mogadishu, dramatised in Mark Bowden's book, *Black Hawk Down*, and portrayed in Ridley Scott's 2001 blockbuster of the same name. At the start of the Somali Civil War (a conflict that began in 1991), US forces launched Operation Restore Hope, which supported a UN initiative to secure food supply routes into the country. However, US forces were constantly under attack from militias led by the warlord Mohamed Farrah Aidid.

In an attempt to cripple Aidid's forces a mission, code named Gothic Serpent, was launched with the intention of snatching two of his key lieutenants. However, the mission began to unravel almost immediately when two American Black Hawk helicopters were shot down over the city. Two Delta operator snipers, Master Sergeant Gary Gordon and Sergeant First Class Randy Shughart, helped secure one of the crash sites, defending the surviving crew. Both were killed in the fighting and received the Medal of Honor. By the end of the 18-hour battle, 19 servicemen were KIA, 73 wounded and one captured in a disastrous mission that remains infamous to this day.

The War on Terror

In the wake of 9/11 there was a scramble to coax recently retired operators back into the field. The initial attacks waged against Al-Qaeda and the Taliban were by small paramilitary forces – units such as Delta Force and operators from organisations like the CIA who worked with anti-Taliban forces. According to Searcy, the first of these, on 19 October, saw Delta Force operators scatter hundreds of copies of a photograph among the bodies of Taliban



An Iranian revolutionary soldier examines the wreckage of one of the crashed aircraft following the disastrous Operation Eagle Claw

HISTORY OF WAR SPECIAL FORCES IS ON SALE NOW

fighters – the photo was the now-iconic image of US firefighters raising the American flag at Ground Zero.

As the US and coalition assault in Afghanistan gathered momentum, Osama Bin Laden led a number of his followers to a fortified cave complex in the mountains of Tora Bora. Delta Force and CIA operators landed in the area and secured the base of the mountains as fierce fighting and constant bombing raids worked to obliterate the enemy. However, despite the vicious attack, it was discovered that Bin Laden had escaped.

Delta Force today

Perhaps Delta Force's most famous recent mission was its involvement in the death of ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi in a 2019 raid. On the night of 26 October, between 50 and 70 Delta operators landed at al-Baghdadi's compound and, suspecting the main entrance to be booby trapped, blew a hole through one of the walls into the complex. Once inside, a firefight occurred and five residents were killed. Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi fled into an escape tunnel, pursued by a Delta dog. Seeing no escape, al-Baghdadi detonated his suicide vest, killing himself and two children in the process. Around 3.30am the entire compound was obliterated by a US airstrike, reducing the once-fearsome fortress to nothing but ash and rubble.

The al-Baghdadi raid showed the world that Delta Force is very much still a vital weapon in the arsenal of the US special forces. Its history may be littered with ups and downs, but this elite unit remains a committed and capable force. The world may be changing, but Delta Force will still be there, fighting in the shadows.

FOUNDING FATHER

THE LIFE AND LEGACY OF CHARLES BECKWITH, FOUNDER OF DELTA FORCE

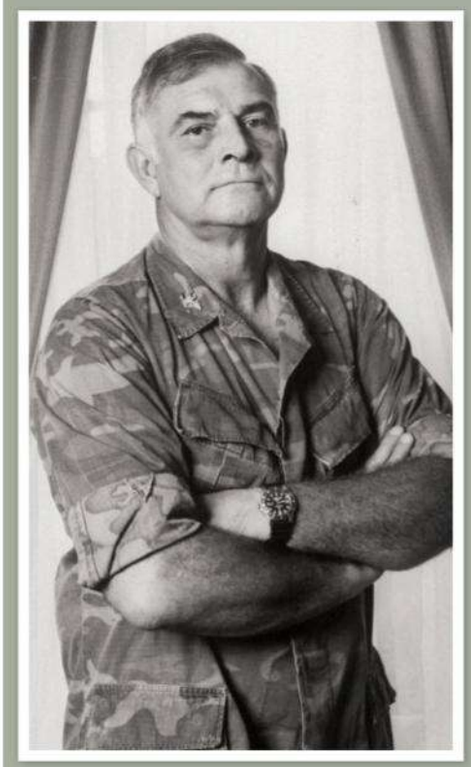
If one man can be said to have been instrumental in the creation of the Delta Force, it's Colonel Charles Alvin Beckwith, nicknamed Chargin' Charlie. In 1952, after graduating from the University of Georgia, he turned down a chance to play professional football for the Green Bay Packers, choosing a life in the US Army instead. A year later Beckwith would see his first active duty, during the Korean war.

After finding success in the regular army, in 1958 he volunteered for active duty with the special forces. By 1959 Beckwith found himself in Laos working as part of Operation Hotfoot to train soldiers to fight the Communist Pathet Lao, or People's Liberation Army.

It was in Malaysia in the 1960s, when Beckwith was working with the British SAS, that he had the first of two lucky escapes from death. He contracted a rare case of leptospirosis, a bacterial infection that causes liver failure, and the doctors who treated him informed him it was one of the worst cases they had ever seen and gave him only a few weeks to live. Against all odds, not only did Beckwith survive, but he also survived being shot in the abdomen a few years later.

In 1981, following the failure of Operation Eagle Claw, Beckwith retired from the army to Austin, Texas, where he set up a consulting firm called Security Assistance Services. He passed away at his home in 1994.

Below: Beckwith pictured in 1981



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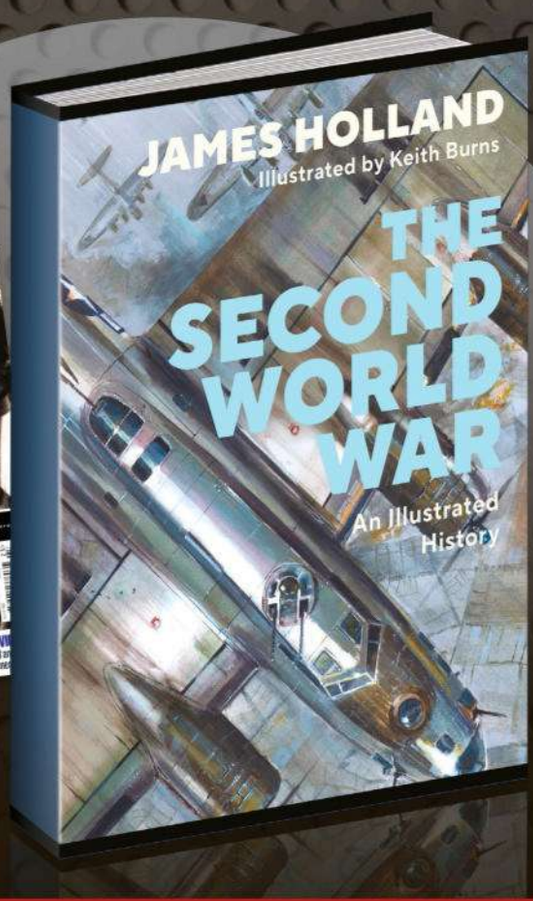

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Heroes of the Victoria Cross

GEORGE MULLIN

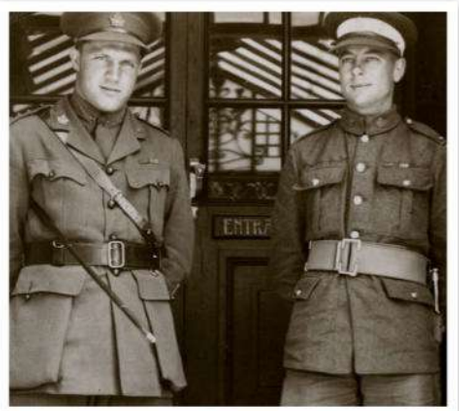
In October 1917, during the Battle of Passchendaele, a US-born and Canadian-raised sergeant single-handedly silenced an enemy pillbox to become a rare instance of an American Victoria Cross recipient

WORDS **ALEX BOWERS**

For several minutes, with German bullets and shells shredding the wavering Canadian lines, it seemed that much of the advance toward Passchendaele hinged on three men. In front of Lieutenant Hugh McKenzie, Lieutenant JM Christie and Sergeant George Harry Mullin – alongside clusters of some 40 surviving comrades under intense fire – was the German pillbox atop Meetcheele Ridge.

The offensive actions of Nos 3 and 1 Companies of Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI) that morning on 30 October 1917 had already cost almost all their officers, and much-needed leadership responsibilty had been thrust upon the remaining NCOs, who had struggled on through the ocean of mud. Craters and corpses littered the quagmire, but the men had made slow progress until reaching the Meetcheele spur that loomed over the village approach. Now not only leadership but also an unparalleled ability to inspire was required to overcome the deadly obstacle.

Sniper Christie took up a favourable left-flanking position for dispatching targets while McKenzie, a PPCLI officer seconded to the brigade machine gunners, dashed from shell hole to shell hole, rallying troops. He then charged the pillbox, but his courage cost him his life; McKenzie fell at the head



***Above:** George Mullin (right) stands beside fellow Canadian First World War Victoria Cross recipient Thain Wendell MacDowell*

of his attacking party and was posthumously awarded the Victoria Cross. However, his brave efforts weren't in vain: a short distance away, crawling up the slope, Mullin was about to become the regiment's second Victoria Cross recipient within as many minutes.

Mullin had been born in the United States and his family had resettled in the Canadian province of Saskatchewan when he was two years old. Years later, when his US Army veteran father and dressmaker mother moved away, Mullin and his brother Roy stayed on a nearby farm in Moosomin with their two uncles. There, Mullin learned to shoot a rifle from an early age, hunting prairie chickens at any opportunity he could get. He subsequently became a farmer in Kamloops, British Columbia, and put his marksmanship skills to good use in the 16th Light Horse for about five months. With the 1914 declaration of the war, Mullin had volunteered for service by December of that year and, in due course, joined the PPCLI. Come July 1915, he was in France, becoming renowned as an adept scout and sniper. In time, he would also acquire a reputation for taking great personal risks.

The PPCLI was then part of the 80th Brigade of the 27th British Division. It had participated in the defence of the Ypres Salient in May 1915 – notably the Battle of Frezenberg – and continued to distinguish itself upon the battalion's transferral into the 7th Brigade of the newly formed 3rd Canadian Division.

In June 1916, Mullin was wounded at Sanctuary Wood near Ypres, resulting in his evacuation to England to recover. Unfortunately, his brother and fellow soldier Roy was not so lucky, being reported killed in action on 15 September 1916. For Mullin, however, he returned to combat duties by the autumn and was present when the PPCLI was engaged in the La Folie Sector

Mullin was wounded near Ypres in June 1916 but returned to combat duties a few months later to play a vital role in the PPCLI's operations

"NOW NOT ONLY LEADERSHIP BUT ALSO AN UNPARALLELED ABILITY TO INSPIRE WAS REQUIRED TO OVERCOME THE DEADLY OBSTACLE"

at Vimy Ridge, during which period he was awarded the Military Medal for a successful reconnaissance of an enemy post. On 9 April 1917, the first day of the actual Battle of Vimy Ridge, he was promoted to acting sergeant ahead of the Canadian Corps' offensive. Officially promoted to sergeant in July 1917, Mullin learned in October that he and his comrades would be returning to Ypres, a Belgian city unrecognisable from the one the PPCLI had once left behind.

Ypres was by now little more than a mass of gutted buildings and debris, having been subjected to German bombardment over three hellish years. British commander Sir Douglas Haig had launched a breakout attack to relieve the city from encirclement in what had become the Third Battle of Ypres. This campaign of attrition was aimed at Passchendaele, a village to the northeast with an imposing ridge beyond. Just one stepping stone in a far larger and overly ambitious strategy, the Canadians would come to curse the name Passchendaele.

Throughout the previous weeks, Allied forces had pushed uphill against a series of trenches, strongpoints and concrete pillboxes, while from above, artillery rounds transformed the region into a mud-strewn hellscape. "I shall never forget the forbidding sight of the shell holes on every side, many of them filled with blood," recalled one soldier after witnessing the horrors. With the Canadian Corps' offensive having begun two days earlier, the PPCLI marched across a duckboard track through the brown slime and into its jumping-off positions on the night of 28 October. The unit's first actions in their sector came only a few hours after the relief was complete, spearheaded by No 4 Company against a German pillbox dubbed 'Snipe Hall'. The successful capture of this particular enemy emplacement allowed the Canadians to begin their final preparations for the assault's second phase on 30 October.

The plan was for the 3rd Division's 7th and 8th Brigades to advance behind a creeping barrage on the north side of a boggy, half-destroyed creek called the Ravenbeek. Traipsing forward from the creek's south was the 12th Brigade of the 4th Division. The primary objective for the former division – including the PPCLI – was to seize the

***Above:** Mullin's gravestone, which records his death at age 71 rather than 70*

***Above:** On the Western Front, Mullin quickly earned a reputation as an excellent sniper and scout*

"I'M FED UP TO THE TEETH. TOMORROW MORNING IT'S EITHER A WOODEN CROSS OR A VC FOR ME"

Tanks in the mud of Passchendaele, a bloody battle of attrition that cost the Canadians 15,654 casualties by mid-November 1917

narrow Meetcheele Ridge just outside Passchendaele village. Despite covering the shortest distance – about 2,000 yards at most – the regiment would come up against some of the Germans' strongest defences. The night before, while distributing rum rations, Mullin had reportedly said: "I'm fed up to the teeth. Tomorrow morning it's either a wooden cross or a VC for me." He would be right on one of those counts.

The assault commenced at 0550 hours on 30 October, with British artillery pounding into the sodden earth. The first men of the attacking companies went over, thrust into a hailstorm of death and destruction. German machine guns swept through the Canadian line, and, in the words of one witness, the soldiers were "mowed down like wheat". Edging closer to the Meetcheele spur, the companies on the left found themselves in the sights of well-placed fortified positions spitting bullets at them. It was here, following McKenzie's brave yet futile charge, that Mullin made good on his pre-battle pledge.

With the German machine gunners distracted by McKenzie's exploits, Mullin clutched his grenades and charged forward. The first bomb he tossed landed amid an enemy sniper's post and knocked it out in an instant. He then leapt forward as bullets ripped through his clothes; miraculously, not one struck him. Alone, though likely with his huddled comrades watching with a mixture of awe and dismay, he next crawled onto the pillbox's concrete roof with his pistol in hand. Mullin angled his weapon and fired into the two machine gunners, downing both of them. Finally, with the emplacement no longer tearing into the pinned-down Canadians, Mullin skirted around to the pillbox entrance and compelled the remaining garrison to surrender.

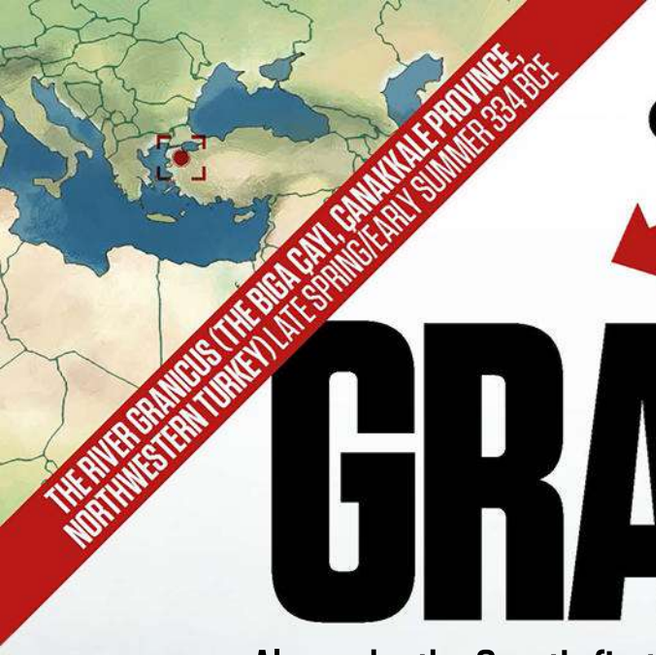
In just a few chaotic minutes two Victoria Cross recipients, one who'd made the ultimate sacrifice, had prevented the Canadian advance from stalling. They were minutes that would in part enable the taking and holding of Meetcheele Ridge in the hours to come, albeit at a terrible cost. Of the approximately 600 PPCLI men who had clambered out of the trenches, 363 casualties were sustained by the end of the day, with more than 150 killed or later succumbing to their wounds. There could be no way to offset the tragedy of these tremendous losses, but Mullin's feat could at least offer a shimmer of light in the darkness.

"His gallantry and fearlessness were witnessed by many," read Mullin's VC citation. "He never faltered in his purpose and he… indirectly saved many lives." A total of nine such awards had been earned by Canadian soldiers in the Battle of Passchendaele by the time the village fell on 6 November, two others on the same day as Mullin and McKenzie – Private Cecil Kinross and Major George Pearkes. Nevertheless, it was Mullin who had the rare accolade of being an American-born VC recipient.

Mullin survived the First World War, married a young English woman named Elizabeth Dorothy Gardner, and received a hero's welcome in Moosomin upon his return to Canada. He again took up farming and joined the local militia before his 1934 appointment as sergeant-at-arms to the Saskatchewan Legislature. Mullin stayed in his role until 1941, when he served in the Veterans Guard of Canada at a German POW camp. In 1947, he resumed his sergeant-at-arms position and went on to be a Saskatchewan representative at the 1953 coronation of Queen Elizabeth II.

At his last session at the provincial legislature, Mullin learned that a Canadian lake in the far north had been named in his honour. He died the next day, aged 70. Remarking on his legacy, Dr Tim Cook, chief historian at the Canadian War Museum and author of over a dozen books on Canadian military history, said: "More than 100 years of distance separates us from that terrible war, but we still marvel and shudder at Mullin's tremendous grit and eye-watering courage in the face of terrible odds."

Images: Alamy, Getty, PPCLI Museum & Archives



THE RIVER GRANICUS (THE BIGA ÇAYI, ÇANAKKALE PROVINCE, NORTHWESTERN TURKEY) LATE SPRING/EARLY SUMMER 334 BCE

GRANICUS

Alexander the Great's first test in the Persian Empire would set the pattern for his conquest. Vastly outnumbered, could he lead his army to victory?

WORDS **MURRAY DAHM**

A highly a-historical but fantastically detailed 17th century imagining of the Battle of Granicus, by French artist Charles Le Brun

In spring 334 BCE, the 22-year-old Macedonian king, Alexander III (reigned 336-323 BCE), invaded the vast Achaemenid Persian Empire with a small yet elite army of some 30,000-43,000 veteran infantry and 5,000 cavalry. This invasion was the culmination of almost a century of pressure for a Greek commander to punish Persia for its own invasion of Greece during the fifth century BCE. Persia had also continued to seriously meddle in Greek affairs, affecting the end of the Peloponnesian War in 404 BCE and with the King's Peace in 386 BCE. The mantle of leadership for this proposed invasion had passed from the Spartan king, Agesilaus II (r400-360 BCE) to Athenian and other statesmen and then to the Macedonian king, Philip II (r359-336 BCE), who had all but conquered Greece in 338 BCE at the Battle of Chaeronea. Philip had probably already begun plans for just such an invasion but, when he was assassinated in 336 BCE, the responsibility for (and willingness to undertake) the invasion passed to his son Alexander. Alexander had commanded his father's cavalry at Chaeronea so was already a veteran at 18. He was not yet 'the Great' but his conduct during the invasion more than earned him the title and kings and commanders ever since have sought to emulate him.

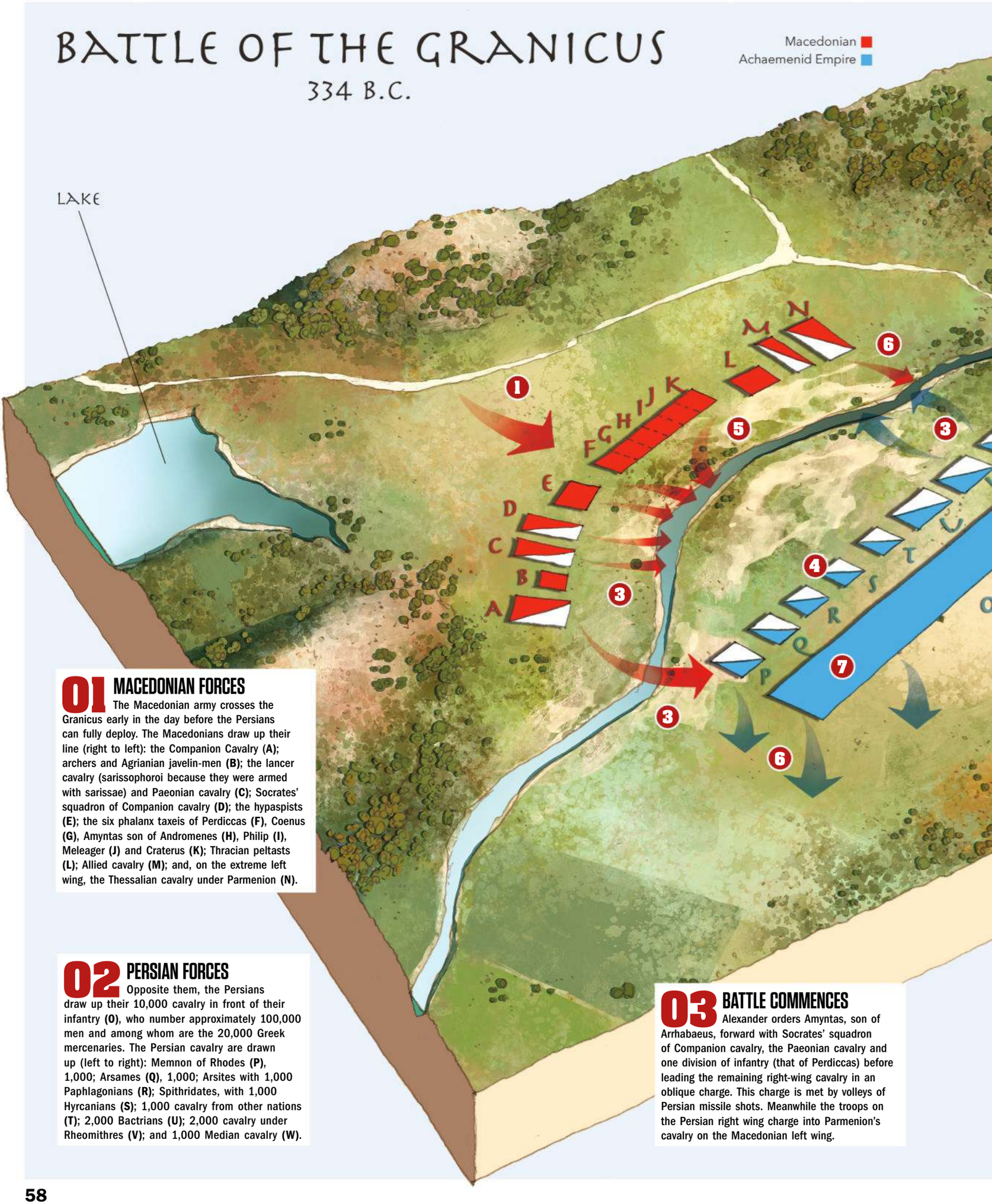
With his relatively small force, Alexander intended to conquer the immense Persian Empire. According to our sources, the Persians could muster more than a million men against Alexander's tiny force. Most modern authors are highly sceptical about such numbers but there is little doubt Alexander was vastly outnumbered and marching entirely in enemy territory. His first test would occur on the banks of the River Granicus, known today as the Biga Çayı in Çanakkale Province, northwestern Turkey, a river which flows roughly north-south into the Black Sea. This river is the most likely location, although there are other candidates, too, such as the Dimetoka, a tributary of the Biga Çayı.

Alexander crossed the Hellespont into Persia in the spring of 334 BCE, entering Persia with an army of veterans rather than young, inexperienced men. They had all campaigned in Greece and further afield under Alexander's father and had fought in Thrace and Greece under Alexander himself. Alexander had spent the previous two years ensuring that Greece and Thrace were pliant and loyal and would not contemplate rebellion while he was conquering Persia.

Macedonian phalangites made up the core of his army, organised into six divisions of 1,536 men each, 9,216 men in total and each armed with a long sarissa spear 15-24ft (4.5-7.3m) long (our sources disagree on their exact length and no example has survived).

OPPOSING FORCES

MACEDONIANS		PERSIANS
LEADERS Alexander III, Parmenion, Socrates, Perdiccas, Coenus, Amyntas, Philip, Melager, Craterus	VS	**LEADERS** Aristes, Arsames, Spithridates, Rheomithres, Memnon of Rhodes
INFANTRY 30,000-43,000		**INFANTRY** 20,000-600,000 (100,000 likely)
CAVALRY 5,000		**CAVALRY** 10,000-20,000
ARCHERS 1,000		**ARCHERS** All infantry



01 MACEDONIAN FORCES

The Macedonian army crosses the Granicus early in the day before the Persians can fully deploy. The Macedonians draw up their line (right to left): the Companion Cavalry **(A)**; archers and Agrianian javelin-men **(B)**; the lancer cavalry (sarissophoroi because they were armed with sarissae) and Paeonian cavalry **(C)**; Socrates' squadron of Companion cavalry **(D)**; the hypaspists **(E)**; the six phalanx taxeis of Perdiccas **(F)**, Coenus **(G)**, Amyntas son of Andromenes **(H)**, Philip **(I)**, Meleager **(J)** and Craterus **(K)**; Thracian peltasts **(L)**; Allied cavalry **(M)**; and, on the extreme left wing, the Thessalian cavalry under Parmenion **(N)**.

02 PERSIAN FORCES

Opposite them, the Persians draw up their 10,000 cavalry in front of their infantry **(O)**, who number approximately 100,000 men and among whom are the 20,000 Greek mercenaries. The Persian cavalry are drawn up (left to right): Memnon of Rhodes **(P)**, 1,000; Arsames **(Q)**, 1,000; Arsites with 1,000 Paphlagonians **(R)**; Spithridates, with 1,000 Hyrcanians **(S)**; 1,000 cavalry from other nations **(T)**; 2,000 Bactrians **(U)**; 2,000 cavalry under Rheomithres **(V)**; and 1,000 Median cavalry **(W)**.

03 BATTLE COMMENCES

Alexander orders Amyntas, son of Arrhabaeus, forward with Socrates' squadron of Companion cavalry, the Paeonian cavalry and one division of infantry (that of Perdiccas) before leading the remaining right-wing cavalry in an oblique charge. This charge is met by volleys of Persian missile shots. Meanwhile the troops on the Persian right wing charge into Parmenion's cavalry on the Macedonian left wing.

Map illustration: Rocío Espín Piñar

07 BLOODY ENDGAME
Only the Greek mercenaries remain. They withdraw to a small hill, but are surrounded by the returning Macedonian cavalry, who destroy them, leaving only 2,000 prisoners.

06 PERSIAN PANIC
Under pressure from the Macedonian advance, the main lines of Persian infantry break and flee, while Parmenion's cavalry continues to advance on the Macedonian left flank.

05 INFANTRY ENGAGES
The Macedonian phalanx advances obliquely and the phalangites engage with the larger body of Persian infantry, who have advanced to intermingle with their cavalry but who can only engage with the units on the Macedonian right.

04 PERSIAN CAVALRY WITHDRAWS
The Persians meet Alexander's charge with volleys of missile fire (both javelins and arrows). Only through sheer determination is Alexander able to push his charge through. The Macedonian cavalry then engage the Persian cavalry and force them to withdraw.

***Left:** Alexander began his conquest eastwards with the Battle of Granicus*

***Right:** A vast number of Persian infantry faced off against the Greek-Macedonian army*

These had a long blade and a butt-spike. The men also wore armour and carried shields and swords. They would line up 16 ranks deep and advance, presenting thousands of deadly blades towards the enemy. The front five ranks' spear tips protruded beyond the front rank; the others were raised, ready, and perhaps offered some disruption to the missiles of their enemies. This well-drilled formation provided flexibility – in addition to being a potent attacking threat, the phalanx could also become an immovable anvil against which Alexander could strike with his cavalry forces as the hammer, the enemy trapped in between.

This finely tuned phalanx system was bolstered by a combination of other units such as the hypaspists (guard infantry), his own mercenary Greek hoplites and specialised lightly armed troops (Agrianian and Thracian peltasts who were mostly armed with javelins, Cretan archers and others). These units helped protect the vulnerable flanks of the phalanx. In total, Alexander had only 30,000-43,000 men (again, different sources give different numbers). Leading the elite cavalry arm made up of Macedon's young nobles, the 1,800 Companions, was Alexander himself. In addition, he had cavalry contingents from Thessaly and other parts of Greece amounting to a further 3,200 men.

Alexander's arrival was, however, no surprise to the Persian governors (satraps) of western Anatolia. Alexander's father Philip had made his intention of invading Persia plain and soon after Philip's assassination in 336 BCE, Alexander set about putting his father's plans into action. The satraps wasted no time in preparing to meet Alexander in battle once he and his army had crossed the Hellespont. They summoned their levies and met for a council of war at the city of Zeleia (near modern Sarıköy, Balıkesir Province, Turkey). We are given the names of 14 commanders among the Persians, ranging from the satraps immediately affected or threatened, to wealthy Persian landowners, as well as the Greek mercenary commander Memnon of Rhodes. Alexander moved quickly and headed towards the Persian mustering point.

According to the historian Arrian (usually regarded as our best surviving source for Alexander), Memnon counselled his employers to avoid facing the new Macedonian king in open battle because his army included a greater force of infantry. This probably meant heavy infantry because the Persians certainly had many more infantry but they were lightly armoured and predominately used the bow and (shorter) spear. The nobility provided the cavalry and the Persians also employed Greek mercenary hoplites. They may also have had men of their own trained as hoplites (the cardaces). Memnon advocated the employment of a scorched-earth policy ahead of Alexander's troops, burning crops to deny the invaders' supplies. Memnon's advice was ignored, however, and the Persian commanders sided with Arsites, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, in whose territory Alexander's force was present.

Alexander was marching along the northern coast of Anatolia and advancing towards the Granicus River. Arrian tells us that the Persian army was made up of 20,000 cavalry and almost the same number of foreign mercenaries, although others give them between 100,000 and 600,000 infantry too. The Persians advanced from Zeleia and took up a defensive position on the far side of the Granicus, and Alexander approached the river and the enemy across it.

Reconstructing the Battle of Granicus is complicated by the fact that the surviving narratives (Arrian and the historian Diodorus Siculus especially) offer very different versions of the battle. Although he is often derided as the least-trustworthy of our sources of Alexander, Diodorus' account of the battle actually makes the most sense. What follows therefore combines Diodorus' account with those of Arrian and our other sources such as the biographer Plutarch.

"ALEXANDER'S CHARGES WERE WELL-PLANNED TO CREATE THEN EXPLOIT A GAP IN THE PERSIAN LINE"

In the accounts of both Arrian and Plutarch, Alexander began the Battle of Granicus rashly, charging across the river at the Persians either without support or despite being massively outnumbered (leading his 1,800 Companions against the Persian cavalry of 10,000-20,000 men). According to Arrian, Alexander's general, Parmenion, argued it was too late in the day to begin a battle and advised that they should make camp and attack in the morning. In Arrian's version, Alexander ignored this advice and immediately launched his attack. In his account of the battle, Plutarch argues that Alexander's attack was even more rash. There is no mention of a vanguard (as there is in Arrian), only Alexander charging into the river (with his Companions) and persisting until he had forced a crossing.

In each of these scenarios, Alexander was throwing away the strengths and meticulous drill of his army – something honed over the previous five years and more. As such, this picture is extremely unlikely and, rather, a more romantic and dashing (if entirely reckless and impetuous) image of the young king. Both Plutarch and Arrian were using the account of Aristobulus as a source, and this may explain the emphasis in their accounts. Aristobulus accompanied Alexander on campaign although he is never mentioned as a commander or participant in any battles.

While it is true that in all his battles Alexander placed himself in danger and was at the forefront of the Macedonian forces, his charges were not reckless or impetuous. They were considered and well-planned to create and then exploit a weakness or gap in the Persian line. What is more, they were part of a known battle plan. The other components all had a part to play in that battle plan and they knew it – the account of the battle in Plutarch and Arrian would have Alexander throw all that away. Alexander's entire invasion would have come to an end had he fallen at the Granicus. Of course, that was always going to be a risk when the Macedonian king ran with his style of leadership in leading cavalry charges from the front, but it is an aspect of his behaviour that is perhaps overemphasised by both Arrian and Plutarch.

Alexander did indeed lead from the front and was inordinately brave, but the solid reliability of the Macedonian military machine was built on the dependability of the phalanx in both attack and defence. Alexander is highly unlikely to have engaged in a battle at the Granicus, his first against the Persians, where those aspects of the phalanx, its known strengths, were not to be used because the phalangites' formation was necessarily disrupted or not brought to bear.

That leaves us with Diodorus' account. In contrast to Arrian and Plutarch, Diodorus offers much which is different but represents a more cohesive story of the battle. It is also worth remembering that he was writing some

Another a-historical depiction of the battle, by Dutch artist Cornelis Troost

Alexander came to the throne of Macedon in 336 BCE and immediately made preparations to continue his father's plans to invade the Persian Empire

The Alexander Sarcophagus (now in Istanbul) shows Macedonian cavalry and Persian cavalry in combat, intermingled with infantry – just like at Granicus

The better armour and helmets of the Macedonians made them less susceptible to injuries than their Persian counterparts

200 years before both Arrian and Plutarch so his may be a better picture – although he was still writing almost 300 years after the events he describes. Diodorus' account of the battle is also the longest that survives and bolsters the case for more attention being shown to his version of events. According to Diodorus, when Alexander reached the Granicus, the Persians were deployed on the high ground on the opposite bank. There is no reference to the advice of Parmenion or the other objections to battle; Diodorus simply states that Alexander and his forces crossed the river at dawn, before the Persians could challenge the advance. Alexander must, therefore, have camped for the night – just as Parmenion in Arrian's account suggested he should.

Arrian and Plutarch's accounts have the battle taking place late in the day, Diodorus' at dawn. Diodorus states that the Persians deployed their cavalry in front of the Macedonian infantry, and we are given a detailed deployment of the Persian cavalry left to right and then the Macedonian (not recorded in as much detail elsewhere). These deployments have been depicted on the accompanying map. According to Diodorus, the Persian infantry (as in Arrian) were posted behind the cavalry and did not advance, the 10,000 cavalry being deemed sufficient to defeat Alexander's forces. The fact that the Persians deployed their cavalry in front tells us that they had not faced a phalanx or been told of its strengths, one which was designed to deal with enemy cavalry, especially if they attacked head on. In Plutarch, the Persian infantry were intermingled with the cavalry along the riverbank to oppose the Macedonians.

There are, nonetheless, aspects of Arrian's and Plutarch's accounts which can be used in conjunction with Diodorus'. Diodorus, for instance, does not include the vanguard attack mentioned in Arrian. In fact, if we use Arrian's details but place them in a battle fought the following morning, when Diodorus places it, many of the problems are mitigated.

A relief of Persian infantry from Persepolis – their comparative lack of armour and protection is obvious, in part explaining the disproportionate casualty figures

A depiction of a Persian royal guard from Susa now in the Louvre, Paris. The army at Granicus may have had similar men – armed as spearmen and archers

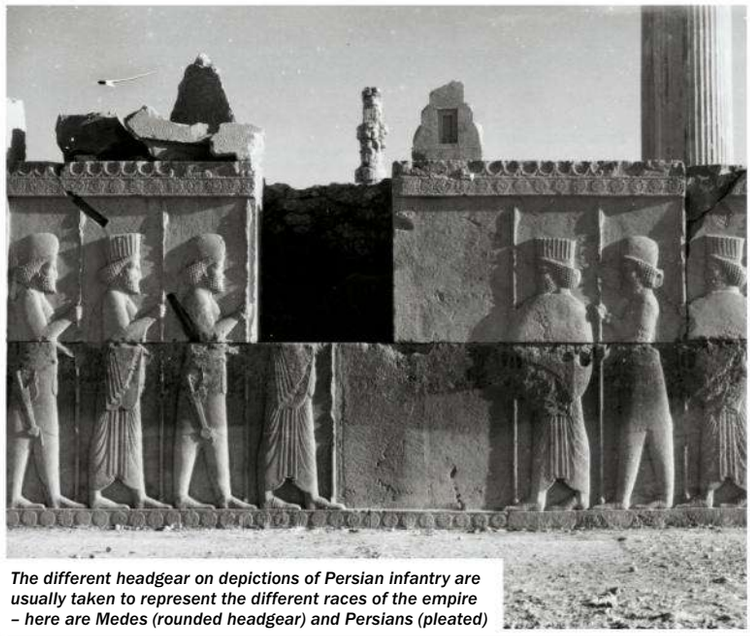
According to Arrian, the first to enter the river were the prodromoi (horse guards) and the Paeonians, commanded by Amyntas, along with one division of infantry and Socrates' squadron of Companion cavalry commanded by Ptolemy, son of Philip. Amyntas' and Socrates' attack was conducted by cavalry supported by 1,500 infantry – either the hypaspists or the rightmost division of the phalanx (that of Perdiccas). Alexander then led his right wing of cavalry across the river. The Persians were waiting across the river, their cavalry in front, and Alexander's predominantly cavalry force immediately came under sustained missile fire from the Persian cavalry stationed on the far bank, much of it in the form of javelins. According to Arrian, the entire Macedonian line advanced across the river obliquely from the right. This took place while the initial Macedonian cavalry attack was engaged with the Persian cavalry. By advancing his army in this way, Alexander ensured that his troops offered enough of a threat to the Persians on the opposite riverbank that they could not all move to attack Alexander's cavalry as he emerged from the river, lest they leave the path open for the remaining Macedonian forces to cross or come under attack themselves from the unengaged Macedonian troops.

Alexander's cavalry sought to push their way out of the river, but the Persian cavalry attempted to push them back and keep the Macedonians in the water. The men of the Macedonian vanguard came off worst in their initial encounter and fell back on Alexander as he advanced. Alexander, therefore, led the Macedonian right wing combined with these remnants of the vanguard attack and charged directly towards the Persian commanders. Alexander's men, using cornel-wood lances (called the xyston) against the short javelins of the Persians, were eventually able to get the best of this encounter and push the Persians back from the riverbank.

The Persian cavalry were pushed back by the Macedonian cavalry who had, by now, been joined by lightly armed troops (the Agrianians and peltasts). In Arrian's account, the Persian cavalry broke and fled and Alexander now turned his attention towards the mercenary infantry, numbering almost 20,000, who stood firm where they had first been drawn up.

According to Diodorus, Alexander's attack was against fewer cavalry. Alexander brought his phalanx and cavalry down on them, massacring all except 2,000, who were taken prisoner. These prisoners included a body of Athenians, who were kept captive for some time in a bid to keep Athens' allegiance.

In Plutarch, having crossed the river, the Macedonian phalanx engaged the Persian infantry forces, who soon fled the battlefield, but the Greek mercenaries stood their ground and accounted for most of the losses suffered by the Macedonian phalanx. The desperate mercenaries asked for quarter, but this was refused. In Arrian, the Macedonian phalanx was only brought against the Greek mercenaries; the rest of the Persian cavalry had already fled. Arrian's account would mean most of Alexander's phalanx was squandered, unable to attack and therefore the battle (as described) was mainly a cavalry one. Diodorus tells us that



The different headgear on depictions of Persian infantry are usually taken to represent the different races of the empire – here are Medes (rounded headgear) and Persians (pleated)

A 17th century Dutch tapestry showing the Battle of Granicus

with the Persian cavalry commanders slain, the Persian cavalry fled the scene, leaving the opposing infantry forces to do battle. The Persian infantry, deeply affected by the rout of their cavalry counterparts, soon fled likewise.

Another reason to favour the account of Diodorus is that his seems to better explain the incredibly low casualty numbers recorded. Even Plutarch and Arrian record these, but their accounts of the battle would make higher casualties seem far more likely. Arrian tells us that the Macedonians lost 25 Companion cavalry in the first charge, and 60 more cavalry and approximately 30 infantry later. Plutarch quotes Aristobulus as saying there were only 34 Macedonian dead, nine of whom were infantrymen (the remaining 25 accords with Arrian's number of the Companions who fell). Justin, another source who is sometimes useful, tells us that only nine infantry and 120 cavalry fell on the Macedonian side; his numbers agree partially with the other sources. Diodorus does not specify the Macedonian casualty numbers.

It is hard to reconcile the low Macedonian casualty numbers recorded by Arrian and Plutarch with the ferocity of the hail of missiles into which both authors have Alexander charge. By contrast, Persian casualties across all sources are noted as having been very high. Arrian records that 1,000 Persian cavalry and almost 18,000 infantry perished (2,000 infantry taken prisoner). Plutarch reports 2,500 Persian cavalry and 20,000 infantry killed.

Plutarch has more infantry casualties almost than Arrian has infantry present at the battle. Diodorus records 2,000 Persian cavalry and 10,000 infantry dead, along with 20,000 prisoners. The low numbers of Macedonian casualties do not accord with the hard fighting mentioned by Arrian and Plutarch, but they do seem to fit with Diodorus' account of Alexander crossing the Granicus at dawn before the Persians could deploy and fighting the battle on the Persian side of the river. Diodorus' relatively low figure of 10,000 Persian infantry casualties does, however, make sense if the

"WITH THEIR COMMANDERS SLAIN, THE PERSIAN CAVALRY FLED. THE PERSIAN INFANTRY SOON DID LIKEWISE"

Persian infantry fled soon after being engaged by the Macedonians. The numbers of Persian casualties in all Alexander's battles are always unbelievably high, no doubt to awe readers with Alexander's overwhelming victories.

At the Battle of Granicus, the way Arrian and Plutarch describe it, Alexander was abandoning nearly all that was proven to work in the Macedonian military machine developed by Philip and Alexander. They have the young king trying to achieve a victory with the hammer of his cavalry alone. That is a highly unlikely scenario. Alexander simply did not have enough cavalry with which to affect such tactics, especially if he was charging a force superior in numbers. His 13 squadrons (Plutarch's figure) would only amount to about 2,500 men (with 200 men per cavalry squadron), yet he was charging 10,000 or 20,000 Persian cavalry.

Alexander only had 4,000-5,000 cavalry in total and even if he was charging only the leftmost Persian units, he was still outnumbered. If we accept Alexander's cavalry charge in Diodorus' account against a force of only 10,000 cavalry, we restore the norms of the proven Macedonian tactics. If this was done with infantry support as described by Arrian, the norms of Alexander's subsequent battles are shown to have been used at Granicus too. Diodorus states that even though Alexander's personal conduct at the Battle of Granicus earned him the palm for bravery, the Thessalian cavalry on the Macedonian left wing earned a great reputation for valour.

The scale of the Macedonian victory is made more probable if Alexander's entire army was indeed brought to bear on a numerically superior force. Plutarch does not mention the numbers of Persian infantry but records that 20,000 of them were killed. Arrian mentions that the Persians only had foreign mercenaries and that they numbered slightly less than 20,000. It would seem highly unlikely, however, that the Persians would decide to engage the Macedonians if they were outnumbered in infantry. Even if they were intending to decide the battle in a cavalry engagement, the threat of the Macedonian infantry makes it unlikely they would do so when their numbers were only evenly matched.

Plutarch's mingling seems the best solution, especially if the attack was made when they were unprepared. We should reject Arrian's number of less than 20,000 Persian infantry. Likewise, Justin's figure of 600,000 infantry seems too many. Diodorus' 100,000 is within the proportions by which the Persians outnumbered the Macedonians at the later battles of Issus and Guagamela. Even if we cannot accept the number, we should be confident that the Persians outnumbered the Macedonians in both infantry and cavalry. The overwhelming Persian infantry would have meant that the satraps outnumbered Alexander and were therefore confident of victory. They would, no doubt, have expected such a large army to put up a much better resistance to Alexander's infantry, which numbered, at most, 43,000 foot soldiers of all types.

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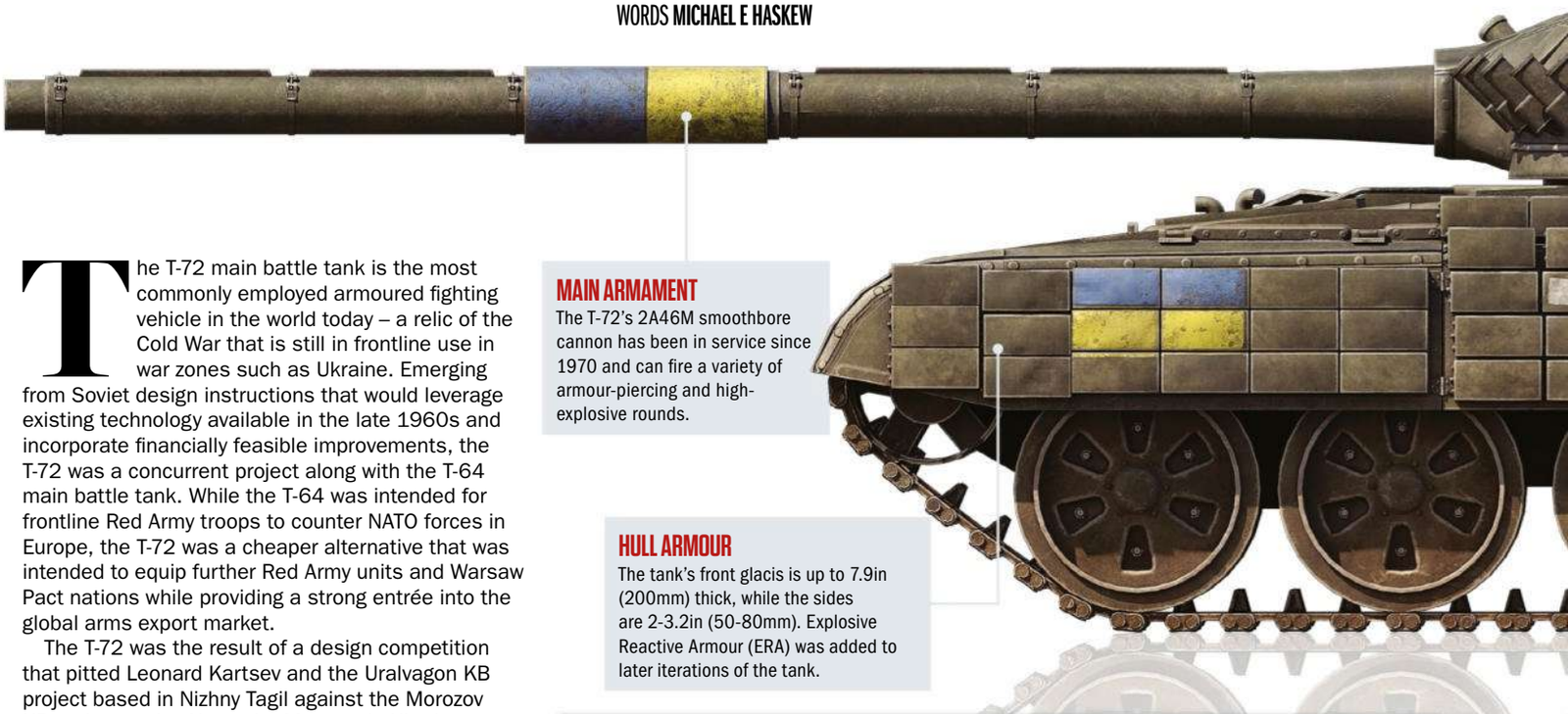
Images: Alamy, Getty, Wiki / PD / Art

T-72 MAIN BATTLE TANK

This Soviet-design emerged during the Cold War and continues as a mainstay of many armies around the world

WORDS **MICHAEL E HASKEW**

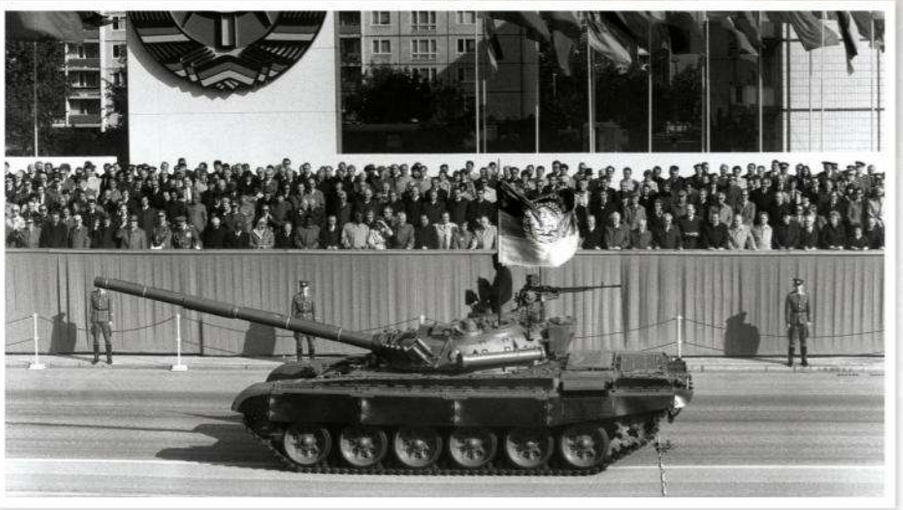


MAIN ARMAMENT
The T-72's 2A46M smoothbore cannon has been in service since 1970 and can fire a variety of armour-piercing and high-explosive rounds.

HULL ARMOUR
The tank's front glacis is up to 7.9in (200mm) thick, while the sides are 2-3.2in (50-80mm). Explosive Reactive Armour (ERA) was added to later iterations of the tank.

The T-72 main battle tank is the most commonly employed armoured fighting vehicle in the world today – a relic of the Cold War that is still in frontline use in war zones such as Ukraine. Emerging from Soviet design instructions that would leverage existing technology available in the late 1960s and incorporate financially feasible improvements, the T-72 was a concurrent project along with the T-64 main battle tank. While the T-64 was intended for frontline Red Army troops to counter NATO forces in Europe, the T-72 was a cheaper alternative that was intended to equip further Red Army units and Warsaw Pact nations while providing a strong entrée into the global arms export market.

The T-72 was the result of a design competition that pitted Leonard Kartsev and the Uralvagon KB project based in Nizhny Tagil against the Morozov KB project under Alexander Morozov in Kharkov. The primary goal of the competition was to develop a cost-efficient replacement for the aging fleet of Communist Bloc T-54 and T-55 main battle tanks that had been in service since the late 1940s. The T-62 and T-64 were initial attempts but success was limited due to high costs, complex attributes and premature entry into production. The shortcomings of the T-62 and T-64 included limited production numbers and some antipathy from Warsaw Pact countries. The concurrent development of the T-72 was a compromise in cost, firepower and technology. Its longevity in service validates this approach, although the combat effectiveness of the T-72, nicknamed Ural, is a subject of debate.



***Right:** The T-72 was a compromise in cost, firepower and technology, and its battlefield performance is fiercely debated*

T-72 MAIN BATTLE TANK

COMMISSIONED	1973
ORIGIN	SOVIET UNION
LENGTH	30.3FT (9.24M)
RANGE	290 MILES (467KM)
ENGINE	780HP, 12-CYLINDER W-46 DIESEL
CREW	3
PRIMARY WEAPON	125MM SMOOTHBORE 2A46M CANNON
SECONDARY WEAPON	.50-CAL (12.7MM) PINTLE MOUNT & 7.62MM COAXIAL MOUNT MACHINE GUNS
ARMOUR	UP TO 7.9IN (200MM) FRONT GLACIS; SIDE PLATES 2-3.2IN (50MM-80MM)

POWERPLANT

The 780hp, 12-cylinder W-46 diesel engine (later upgraded to 840hp) appeared underpowered yet was sufficient to give the relatively light tank excellent speed and manoeuvrability.

"THE T-72 MAIN BATTLE TANK IS THE MOST COMMONLY EMPLOYED ARMOURED FIGHTING VEHICLE IN THE WORLD TODAY"

Explosive Reactive Armour (ERA) is easily visible on the turret and hull of this T-72 in service with the Indian Army

TURRET

The elliptical, 'frying pan-shaped' turret has a low silhouette characteristic of previous Soviet tank design. Shells are stored in the turret, making the tank vulnerable if hit.

SECONDARY ARMAMENT

A pintle-mount .50-cal (12.7mm) machine gun sits atop the T-72 main battle tank's turret. The vehicle is also armed with a coaxial-mount machine gun parallel to the main weapon.

Illustration: Nicholas Forder

***Above:** A destroyed T-72 tank just outside Benghazi, Libya, 2011*

ARMAMENT

Developed by the Spetstekhnika Design Bureau in Yekaterinburg in the 1960s originally for the T-64, the 2A46M 4.9in (125mm) smoothbore cannon has been in service since 1970 and served as the primary weapon of a series of Soviet and Russian main battle tanks. Capable of firing a variety of armour-piercing and high-explosive rounds, the smoothbore was superior to the 4.2in (105mm) rifled weapons of Western main battle tanks at the time of its introduction. Its short barrel life was addressed in a subsequent upgrade, while future NATO tanks adopted larger-calibre main weapons to counter the 2A46M. The cannon has also been manufactured in Ukraine and China.

ENGINE

The 780hp, 12-cylinder W-46 diesel engine was much quieter than earlier diesels installed in the T-62, creating lower vibration throughout the vehicle and diminishing smoke output. It was capable of operating on benzene and kerosene when other fuel supplies were unavailable. The W-46 was based on the Second World War-era V-12 engine that powered the T-34 medium tank, which contributed to the interchanging of parts and availability of components for routine maintenance. Although the engine appeared underpowered for the size of the T-72 by Western standards, the overall light weight of the hull compensated, resulting in a highly manoeuvrable tank. Among other powerplant and drivetrain changes, the engine was upgraded to an 840hp variant in 1985.

Tank crew starting the T-72 engine. Ukraine. Donetsk region. December 4 2022

DESIGN

The design of the T-72 was not a further development of the T-62 or T-64 – it was concurrent with them. The design retained the characteristic low silhouette of earlier Soviet tanks along with the elliptical, 'frying pan-shaped' turret; intentionally cramped crew capacity; and the characteristic long barrel of its main weapon, which gives the entire vehicle a somewhat forward-sloping appearance. Soviet tank designers stressed speed and manoeuvrability in line with the heritage of the classic T-34 design of the Great Patriotic War, prioritising battlefield survivability over inherent crew comfort, and the low-profile helped keep the vehicle's weight somewhat below that of contemporary NATO main battle tanks.

The T-72 main battle tank is characterised by its low profile and its main weapon's long barrel

"SOVIET TANK DESIGNERS STRESSED SPEED AND MANOEUVRABILITY IN LINE WITH THE HERITAGE OF THE CLASSIC T-34"

A T-72 is pictured during a training exercise in Ukraine, March 2023

SERVICE HISTORY

Since its introduction in 1973, the T-72 tank – in numerous variants – has been fielded by the armies of approximately 40 countries. Manufactured both for the Soviet army and in variants intended specifically for the export market, more than 25,000 have been produced. The T-72 has been built under licence in Poland, Czechoslovakia, the former Yugoslavia and India. Through the years, various upgrades have included Explosive Reactive Armour (ERA); Nuclear, Biological and Chemical warfare (NBC) equipment; and various infrared fire control systems.

The combat record of the T-72 is reflective of its sale on the world arms market. The Iraqi armed forces deployed the tank with some success against the Iranians in their 1980-88 war, while the tank was also deployed in the 1982 Lebanon conflict, the 1991 Gulf War and the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq. During the Gulf War and the Iraq invasion, the export versions of the T-72 fared poorly against US M1A1 Abrams main battle tanks and the anti-tank weapons mounted on helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft.

Currently, various iterations of the T-72 are involved with both Russian and Ukrainian forces in the war in Ukraine. Western intelligence sources report that the Russian army is upgrading older T-72s to the B3 specification, but losses to artillery and hunter-killer infantry teams with anti-tank weapons are believed to be quite high.

"VARIOUS UPGRADES HAVE INCLUDED EXPLOSIVE REACTIVE ARMOUR (ERA); NUCLEAR, BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WARFARE (NBC) EQUIPMENT; AND VARIOUS INFRARED FIRE CONTROL SYSTEMS"

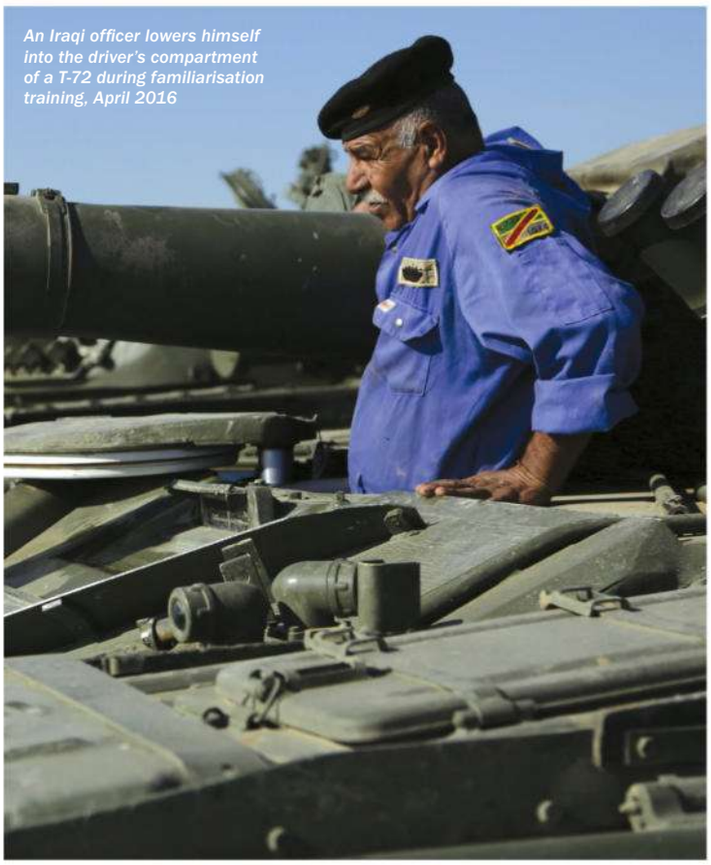
Since its introduction in 1973, more than 25,000 T-72 tanks have been produced

***Above:** A pro-Russian separatist stands in front of a T-72 tank at a checkpoint in Enakieve, 25 kilometers from the eastern Ukrainian city of Debaltseve, on 29 January, 2015*

***Below:** Upgraded variants such as this captured T-72B3 are reported by Western intelligence sources to be in service with the Russian army in Ukraine*

CREW COMPARTMENT

Characteristically, the crew compartment of the T-72 main battle tank was not built for comfort. The chassis of the tank was divided into three sections, the crew compartment in the centre. The driver was situated forward with limited visibility through only a single periscope and, unlike Western tank designs that utilised a wheel or yoke, a system of tillers was used to steer. Along with the manual transmission, the driver was fully occupied while the tank was in motion. An automatic loader eliminated the need for a fourth crewman, and the commander was positioned in the turret to the right beneath a rotating cupola, while the gunner was seated in the turret to the left. The maximum height for T-72 crewmen is believed to be 5ft 9in (1.75m).



An Iraqi officer lowers himself into the driver's compartment of a T-72 during familiarisation training, April 2016

The driver has only limited visibility through a single periscope

Images Alamy, Getty, Wiki / PD / Gov

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HOME FRONT

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In August 1943, a secret conference codenamed Quadrant took place between the United States, United Kingdom and Canada

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MUSEUMS & EVENTS

Discover a First World War aerodrome in Essex, Warwickshire's cavalry museum and a Scottish castle's famous links with *Monty Python*

Aces High

Stow Maries Great War Aerodrome is the best-preserved First World War airfield in the UK, with many listed buildings and replica aircraft

Located deep in rural Essex, Stow Maries Great War Aerodrome is an historic airfield that was used by the Royal Flying Corps (RFC) and fledgling Royal Air Force (RAF) during the First World War. Originally opened in 1916 as the home of B Flight, 37 Squadron, RFC, the aerodrome saw the birth of air defence in Britain as it responded to German Zeppelin and Gotha bomber raids on London and southeast England. At its peak, Stow Maries housed over 500 personnel and 36 aircraft.

37 Squadron transitioned into an RAF unit on 1 April 1918, with Stow Maries remaining operational until 1919 when the aerodrome was closed. The site was repurposed for residential and agricultural use and was kept remarkably well-preserved. Today, Stow Maries is the largest known surviving group of RFC buildings on a First World War airfield that was not adapted for further military use.

The Stow Maries Great War Aerodrome museum was formally opened by Prince Richard, Duke of Gloucester, in 2017. Of the airfield's original 47 structures, 24 have survived and they have all been designated as Grade II-listed buildings. The museum is now managed by a charitable trust and supported by large numbers of volunteers.

Stow Maries is an Arts Council accredited museum containing a wide variety of award-winning exhibitions in its original buildings and modern hangars. There are replicas of Great War aircraft inside the hangars that are accessible as part of a guided tour, along with dioramas and interactive displays. Replica aircraft can also be seen taking off and landing, weather permitting. The Airmen's Mess Cafe provides a varied menu of hot meals and cakes while the gift shop offers a range of models, souvenirs and local produce.

The museum is open for regular admissions on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays between 10am-4pm. There are various forms of prices and discounts available, including free entry for serving members of the British Armed Forces, two-for-one entry for English Heritage members on non-event days, and free entry for members of the Propeller Club. This membership scheme is for supporters of the museum with benefits including free entry to the museum, exclusive access to members' events and food and gift discounts.

The memorial to 37 (Home Defence) Squadron at Stow Maries with the names of ten officers and men who died during the First World War

Due to its rural location, Stow Maries Aerodrome is also a stunning natural wildlife habitat containing a wide variety of flora and fauna. The site is home to different species of native owls, kestrels, hares, snakes, bats, slow worms and lizards, among others. The volunteers have planted 5,500 mixed broadleaf, native woodland trees on the site and the habitat has appeared on several BBC and Channel 5 wildlife programmes.

For more information visit: www.stowmaries.org.uk

A replica Royal Aircraft Factory SE5 fighter pictured in front of the Pilots' Ready Room

***Right:** Children's model WWI aircraft pictured ready for takeoff at the aerodrome*

Warwickshire Yeomanry Museum

In the heart of Shakespeare Country, this small museum is dedicated to a cavalry regiment that served with distinction during both World Wars

First raised as the Gentlemen and Yeomanry of Warwickshire in 1794, the Warwickshire Yeomanry became a full cavalry regiment two years later. It remained in the UK throughout the 19th century until the outbreak of the Second Boer War (1899 – 1902) when it was first deployed overseas.

The regiment saw significant active service during the World Wars and received 30 Battle Honours. These included First World War actions on the Western Front and the Middle East, as well as North Africa and Italy during the Second World War. The Warwickshire Yeomanry was merged with its Worcestershire counterpart in 1957 as the Queen's Own Warwickshire and Worcestershire Yeomanry until the regiment was disbanded in 1992.

Perhaps the regiment's most famous action occurred on 8 November 1917 during the Middle East Campaign. Known as the Charge at Huj, this engagement saw the Warwickshire and Worcestershire Yeomanry successfully conduct one of the last classic cavalry charges in military history, against Ottoman, German and Austro-Hungarian forces in Palestine.

The regimental museum has been located in Warwick's Georgian Court House since 1981. Entirely supported by volunteers, it contains an extensive collection of uniforms, weapons, medals and memorabilia. Entry is free for visitors and group visits can be accommodated by prior arrangement. Many of the volunteers are ex-servicemen and women who are happy to explain the exhibits to visitors and talk about their own experiences.

***Above:** Warwick's Court House was opened in 1728 on Jury Street, an area that was once home to the town's medieval Jewish community*

For more information visit: www.warwickshire-yeomanry-museum.co.uk

The Real Spamalot

Doune Castle is a magnificent 14th century fortress that was extensively used as a film location for *Monty Python and the Holy Grail*

Located in Perthshire, Scotland, Doune Castle was the seat of Robert Stewart, 1st Duke of Albany (c.1340 – 1420) who served as regent of Scotland for three Scottish kings: Robert II, Robert III and James I. Known as 'Scotland's Uncrowned King', Albany acquired Doune in 1361 and transformed the previous fortress into the present castle that survives today.

Relatively unchanged since the 14th century, Doune hosted Mary, Queen of Scots and King James VI on several occasions and saw military action during the British Civil Wars and Jacobite risings. It was donated to the nation by its last owner, Douglas Stuart, 20th Earl of Moray, in 1984 and is now managed by Historic Environment Scotland.

Despite its illustrious history, the castle is perhaps best known today as a film location for the 1975 comedy film *Monty Python and the Holy Grail*. Different parts of Doune were used to depict various fictional castles in the movie, and fans come to visit from all over the world. Comedy enthusiasts can purchase *Monty Python*-related merchandise in the castle's gift shop including T-shirts, mugs, Holy Grail magnets, copies of the screenplay and even coconut halves to recreate the sound of galloping horses!

John Witherspoon – a future Founding Father of the United States – was held prisoner at Doune in 1746 for opposing Bonnie Prince Charlie

For more information visit: www.historicenvironment.scot

Images: Alamy, Getty

WWII THIS MONTH...

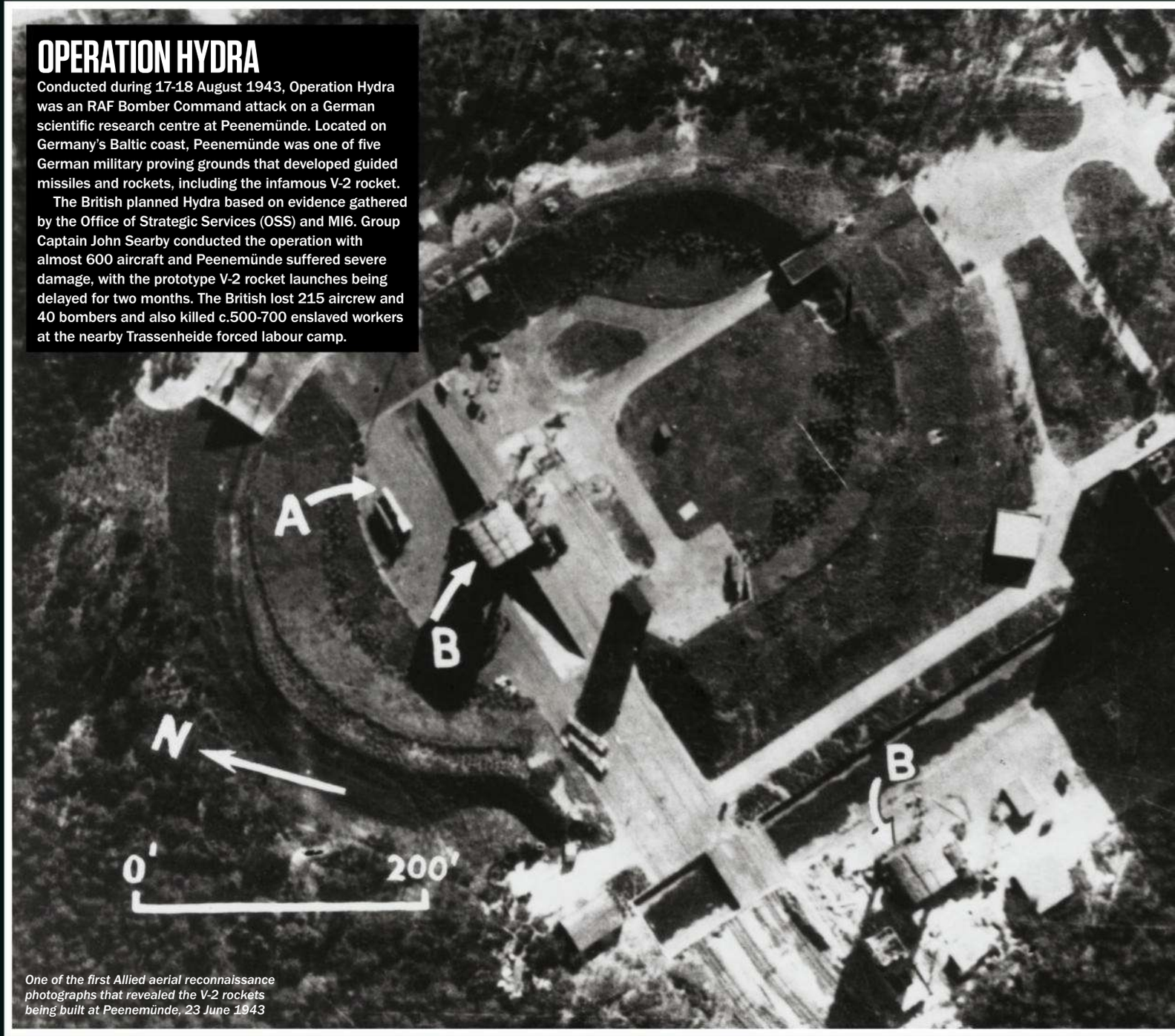
AUGUST 1943

To commemorate 80 years since the Second World War, **History of War** will be taking a look at some of the key events taking place during each month of the conflict

OPERATION HYDRA

Conducted during 17-18 August 1943, Operation Hydra was an RAF Bomber Command attack on a German scientific research centre at Peenemünde. Located on Germany's Baltic coast, Peenemünde was one of five German military proving grounds that developed guided missiles and rockets, including the infamous V-2 rocket.

The British planned Hydra based on evidence gathered by the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and MI6. Group Captain John Searby conducted the operation with almost 600 aircraft and Peenemünde suffered severe damage, with the prototype V-2 rocket launches being delayed for two months. The British lost 215 aircrew and 40 bombers and also killed c.500-700 enslaved workers at the nearby Trassenheide forced labour camp.



One of the first Allied aerial reconnaissance photographs that revealed the V-2 rockets being built at Peenemünde, 23 June 1943

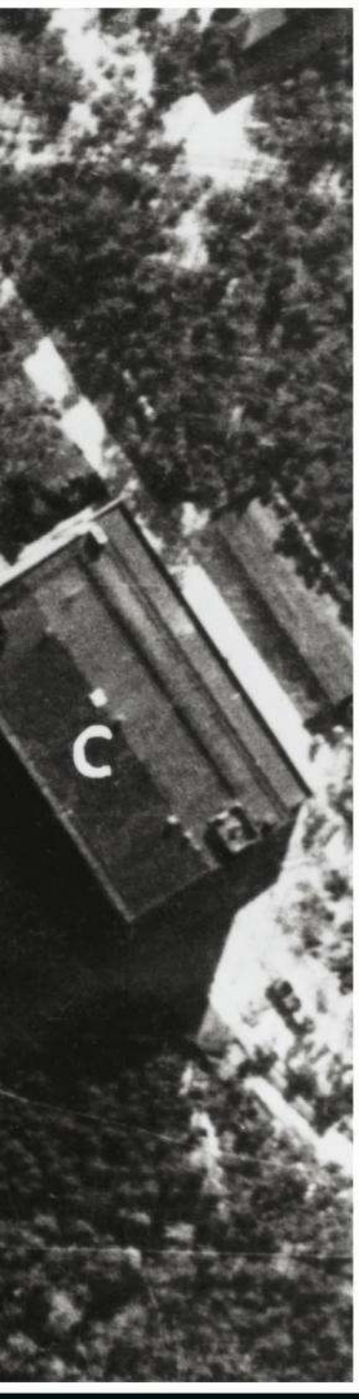
Images © Alamy, Getty

QUADRANT CONFERENCE

Codenamed Quadrant, the First Quebec Conference was held in Quebec City during 17-24 August 1943 between the governments of Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom. With Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King acting as host, the conference was attended by Franklin D Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. Joseph Stalin was also invited but he could not attend for military reasons.

Among many issues discussed, the Allied leaders made plans for the invasions of mainland Italy and France. At this stage Operation Overlord was planned for May 1944 with an extra plan for a potential invasion of Norway. Removing Italy from the war was the Allies' main objective at Quadrant, after which the leaders wanted to defeat Germany by autumn 1944 so they could then concentrate on defeating Japan.

Winston Churchill smokes one of his famous cigars at Quebec while Franklin D Roosevelt talks to Mackenzie King



PATTON SLAPPING INCIDENTS

Despite being one of the most successful American commanders of the war, George S Patton's worst enemy was himself. A relentless, demanding personality, Patton did not believe in the medical condition known as combat stress reaction (CSR), which was then known as 'battle fatigue'.

In separate incidents on 3 and 10 August 1943, he berated and struck two CSR patients – Private Charles H Kuhl and Private Paul G Bennett – at evacuation hospitals in Sicily. Patton slapped them because, in his opinion, they were "cowards" who were away from the front lines without apparent physical injuries. Word of what happened reached his superior Dwight D Eisenhower, who ordered Patton to apologise to the men. The incidents contributed to Patton being passed over to lead the invasion of northern Europe.

Patton slapped Private Bennett twice and threateningly pulled his pistol on him, which prompted the hospital's commander to physically separate the two men

DISSOLUTION OF THE DANISH GOVERNMENT

Denmark was occupied by Germany from April 1940. Considered by the Nazis as "fellow Nordic Aryans", the Danes were initially treated favourably and allowed to run a protectorate government where the Danish Folketing (Parliament) effectively functioned as it had before the war and King Christian X remained as head of state.

Nevertheless, most Danes resented the occupation. Widespread strikes and acts of resistance dramatically increased in the summer of 1943, and the Danish government refused to submit to a German ultimatum of new repressive laws. The Germans responded by dissolving the Danish government on 29 August 1943 and imposing martial law. King Christian personally resisted by symbolically refusing to accept the Danish cabinet's resignation in the face of German pressure.

King Christian X became a symbol of Danish resistance and was famous for riding through occupied Copenhagen every day without guards

APPOINTMENT OF MOUNTBATTEN

A close relative of the British royal family, Lord Louis Mountbatten was a senior officer in the Royal Navy. He was a favourite of Winston Churchill, although his naval record during the Second World War was mixed. Mountbatten helped plan the successful raids on Bruneval and Saint-Nazaire but his planning for the Dieppe Raid of August 1942 was a disaster.

Nevertheless, on 26 August 1943 Churchill appointed Mountbatten as Supreme Allied Commander South East Asia Command. He oversaw the British-led recapture of Burma from the Japanese, although General Sir William Slim was the campaign's commander. Mountbatten personally received the formal Japanese surrender in Singapore on 12 August 1945 when British troops returned to the island for the first time since 1942.

Mountbatten was famously vain but within the British Admiralty he was jokingly referred to as the Master of Disaster

REVIEWS

Our pick of the latest military history books

PADDY MAYNE

A TIMELY REPRINT OF A THOROUGH BIOGRAPHY, WHICH DOCUMENTS THE LITTLE-KNOWN BUT FORMIDABLE FIGURE OF THE EARLY DAYS OF THE SPECIAL AIR SERVICE – AND BUSTS THE MYTHS THAT HAVE OBSCURED HIS LEGACY

Author: Hamish Ross **Publisher:** The History Press **Price:** £12.99 (Paperback) **Released:** Out now

It is fitting that Hamish Ross' 2003 biography of Lieutenant Colonel Blair Mayne – 'Paddy' to those who served with him in the Special Air Service – has been re-issued in the summer of 2023. It is exactly 80 years since Mayne led the SAS in operations in Sicily and in Italy. It was the success of these operations that ensured the survival of the regiment; at the end of 1943 the SAS became a brigade comprising two British regiments, two French and a company of Belgian soldiers. When the war ended 18 months later Mayne was a lieutenant colonel with a DSO and three bars.

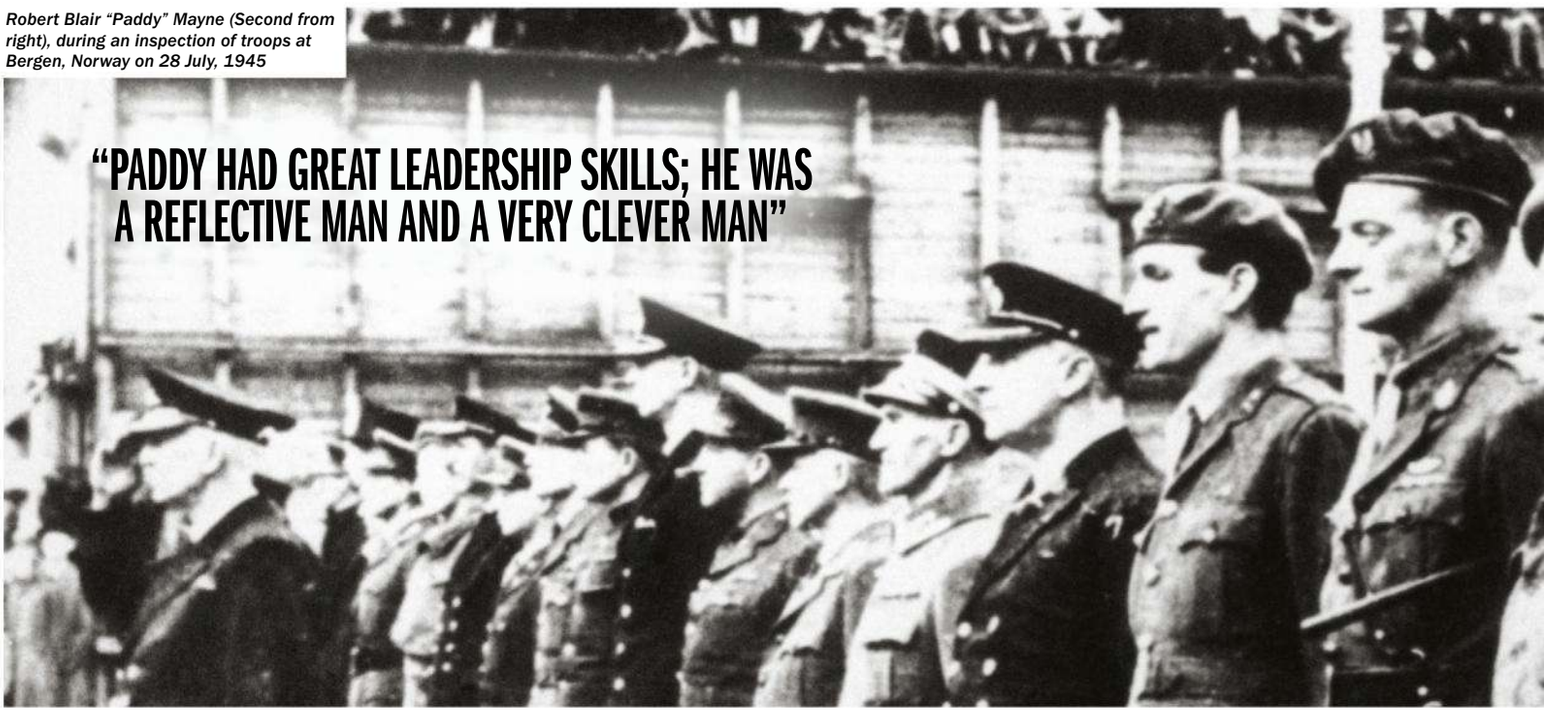
Much has subsequently been written about this extraordinary Irishman, who represented his country at rugby before the war and who, in 1939, left his solicitor's office to become arguably the greatest guerrilla fighter of the war. Alas, a great deal of what has been written is inaccurate, exaggerated or downright untrue. This misrepresentation recently extended to the BBC dramatisation of Ben Macintyre's history of the wartime SAS, *Rogue Heroes*, in which Mayne was portrayed as a psychotic (and diminutive) thug.

The 6ft 2in (1.9m) Mayne was nothing of the sort, as Ross explains in his comprehensive biography that covers his early years in Northern Ireland to his tragic death in 1955. He is helped by contributions from those who knew Mayne best: family, friends and former comrades in the SAS. One, Roy Close, explains that while David Stirling deserves credit for founding the regiment in 1941, it was Mayne who held the SAS together after Stirling was captured in January 1943. "It could have folded," says Close. 'Paddy had great leadership skills; he was a reflective man and a very clever man."

If there is one criticism of the book it is Ross' failure to explore in depth the relationship between Mayne and Stirling, although there are brief allusions in letters Mayne wrote home that he didn't think much of his CO. And he certainly didn't, as this reviewer explains in his own biography of Stirling (*David Stirling: The Phoney Major*). Mayne had no respect for Stirling, who for his part was envious and intimidated by the Irishman in equal measure.

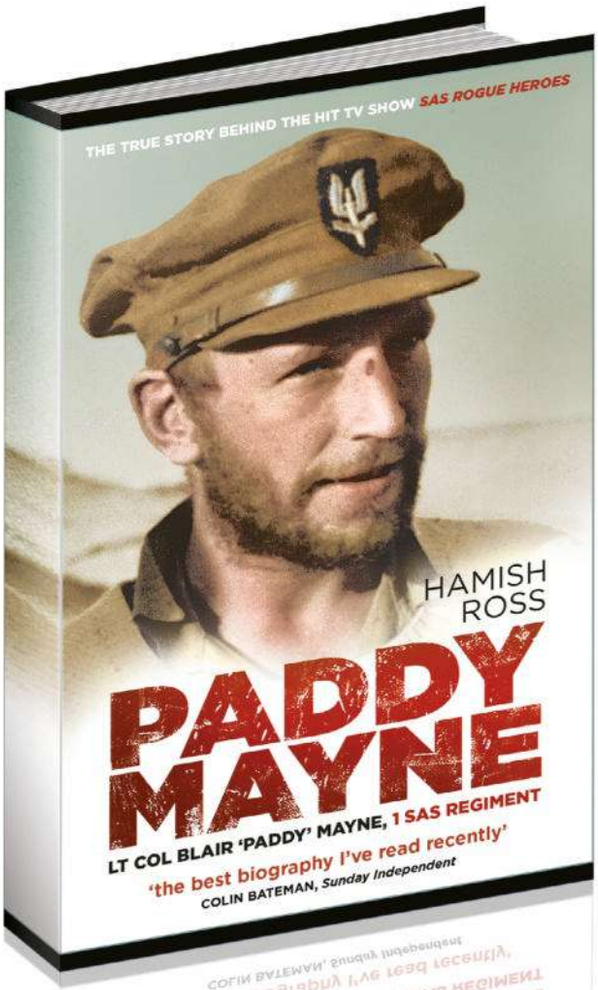
But that is a minor cavil. This is an excellent examination of Mayne and Ross corrects many of the myths about him that have flourished over the years: for instance, he was not in prison when Stirling recruited him to the SAS in 1941, and nor did Mayne knock out half-a-dozen military policemen in Cairo in a rage.

Of particular interest is the third part of the biography, which deals with the decade after the war when Mayne was a lost soul in a world



Robert Blair "Paddy" Mayne (Second from right), during an inspection of troops at Bergen, Norway on 28 July, 1945

Image: Getty


THE TRUE STORY BEHIND THE HIT TV SHOW SAS ROGUE HEROES
HAMISH ROSS
PADDY MAYNE
LT COL BLAIR 'PADDY' MAYNE, 1 SAS REGIMENT
'the best biography I've read recently'
COLIN BATEMAN, Sunday Independent

in which he didn't fit. Was Mayne suffering from PTSD or was he simply (as I suspect) bored with his humdrum existence?

This is not a sensationalist book and it will disappoint readers who like their military history laced with *Boy's Own* bravado. But of all that has been written about Blair 'Paddy' Mayne, this biography comes closest to understanding his complex character. **GM**

WIN CROSS OF IRON ON BLU-RAY

YOU CAN BAG YOURSELF A COPY OF 1977'S CLASSIC FILM THAT DEPICTS THE HORRORS OF THE EASTERN FRONT DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Considered one of the all-time classic war films, *Cross of Iron* follows the story of German officer Rolf Steiner (James Coburn) on the Eastern Front in 1943. Highly experienced but also worn down from service on the frontline, Steiner and his men find themselves placed under the command of a cowardly but ambitious new commander, Captain Stransky (Maximilian Schell).

After Steiner's squad is involved in another bloody encounter with the enemy, Stransky attempts to fraudulently claim another officer's heroics in a bid to falsely earn his own Iron Cross. When Steiner refuses to take part in the plot, Stransky betrays him, leaving Steiner and his squad isolated, outnumbered and fighting for their lives.

The first and only war movie from renowned director Sam Peckinpah (*The Wild Bunch, Straw Dogs*), *Cross of Iron* depicts the bleak experiences of an army in retreat on the Eastern Front, but also the bloody cost of blind ambition in pursuit of glory. This issue, *History of War* readers have the chance to win a fully restored version of *Cross of Iron* on Blu-Ray, courtesy of StudioCanal.

The fully restored *Cross of Iron* is on sale 31 July.

For your chance to win one of three copies, visit: www.historyanswers.co.uk or scan here:

WORTH £14.99

The competition is open to UK entrants only. Entrants must be aged 18 or over to enter this competition and be able to demonstrate this to *History of War*'s reasonable satisfaction. Entries must be received by 00:00GMT on 01/09/2023. The winner will be selected at random from all entries received and will be sent the prize free of charge. The prize is non-transferable and non-refundable. There is no cash alternative. For full terms and conditions, please go to www.futureplc.com/competition-rules/.

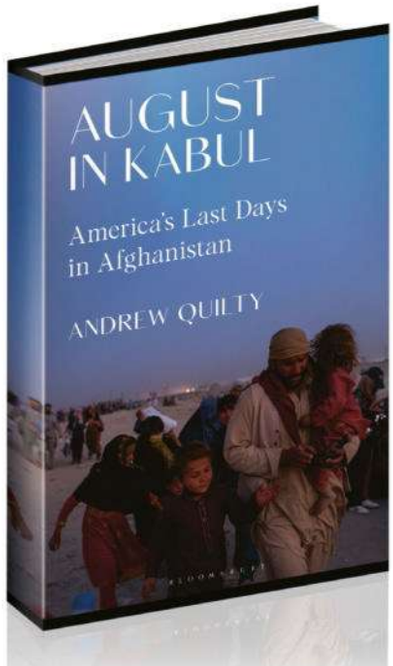
AUGUST IN KABUL

HOW THE US ABANDONED AFGHANISTAN TWO DECADES AFTER DEFEATING THE TALIBAN

Author: Andrew Quilty **Publisher:** Bloomsbury **Price:** £20 (Hardback) **Released:** Out now

There is a popular belief that Afghanistan is an unconquerable country. This is a complete myth. For more than 2,000 years, from Alexander the Great onward, the country has been overrun and its fighters scattered by foreign invaders. What is true, on the other hand, to the acute pain of foreign powers, is that Afghanistan can't be held.

Britain fought two wars in Afghanistan between 1838 and 1880, resulting in initial military victories that ended in humiliating routs, with the loss of more than 25,000 troops and civilians. Both invasions were launched to prevent an alleged Russian attempt to exert influence on India's neighbour. More recently, Russia itself entered the 'Great Game' with its much-feared 1979 takeover of Afghanistan. Ten years later the Red Army was forced to battle its way out of the country, an event that triggered the collapse of the USSR.



Afghanistan has always been the graveyard of empires, as Andrew Quilty illustrates in his incisive analysis of the most recent great power departure from Afghan soil. Drawing on nearly ten years' personal experience in the country, the author recounts the painful saga of how the US, which led the NATO forces that overthrew the Taliban regime in 2001, came to abandon Afghanistan to its former Islamist masters and beat a hasty departure from the country. The book's lively style and wealth of first-hand reporting of events are likely to make this the definitive account of America's catastrophic withdrawal from Afghanistan. **JS**

BURGENLAND

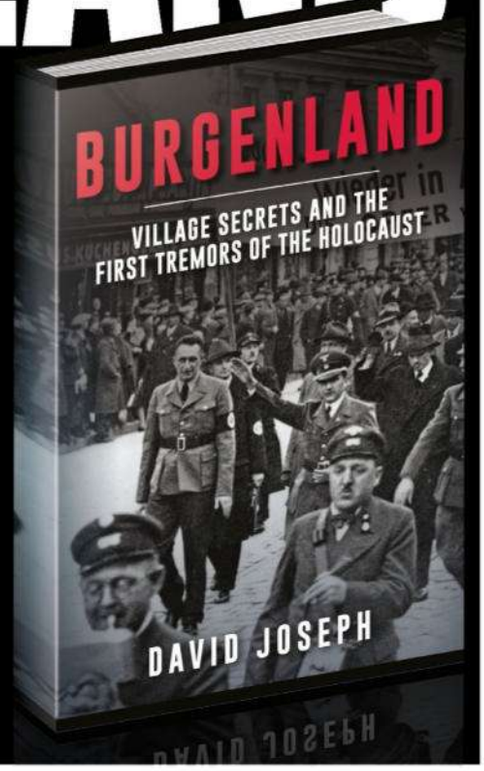
VILLAGE SECRETS AND THE FIRST TREMORS OF THE HOLOCAUST

A DEEPLY MOVING, WELL-RESEARCHED LOOK AT THE ORIGINS OF THE HOLOCAUST

Author: David Joseph **Publisher:** Amberley **Price:** £25 **Released:** Out now

David Joseph's new book *Burgenland: Village Secrets and the First Tremors of the Holocaust* is a deeply moving history that connects the reader to a variety of stories and individuals. Much of this book is based on Joseph's ambition to trace back and retell the story of his family and the Jewish people of the Burgenland area. His personal connection to the story that he is telling shines through in every chapter, every page, and every word as we sense the amount of care and love that has gone into the book's creation. This is best exemplified by Joseph detailing some of his research trips, where he frantically took photos of microfilm on his phone deep within the archives of the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC.

Throughout this book, it is impossible to ignore the struggle and persecution that Jewish people have faced in Europe for centuries, and still face today. Joseph even recounts his own experience of anti-Semitism when sat with a man in a restaurant in Eisenstadt while visiting his mother's birthplace. This book also serves as a valuable reminder for people everywhere that Jewish people still face anti-Semitism and persecution today in Europe, and it also demonstrates to us that the actions of people and events that occur today can have wide-ranging repercussions deep into the future. *Burgenland* is a must-read for everyone. **JVU**



FRENCH GENERALS OF THE GREAT WAR

A NEW STUDY EXAMINING HOW FRANCE'S MILITARY CHIEFS LED THEIR MEN THROUGH THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Authors: Jonathan Krause & William Philpott **Publisher:** Pen & Sword **Price:** £25 (Hardback) **Released:** Out now

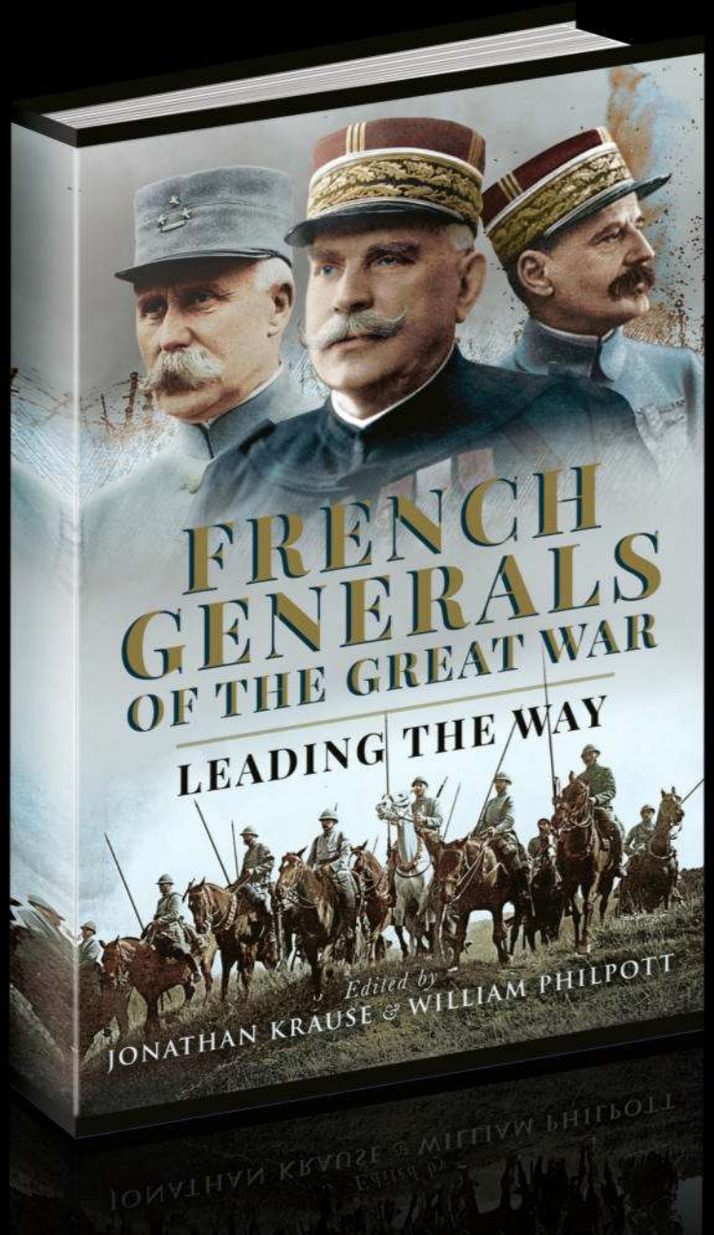
Written by eminent historians, this is an excellent, thoroughly researched book, documenting the lives, strategic war aims and careers of 12 French generals during the Great War. It sheds much needed light on their personal strengths and weaknesses, their often-complex relationships with allied commanders, and their struggles with interfering politicians. Collectively, French generals are portrayed as intelligent strategists, adept at adjusting their decisions to fit the circumstances of industrial warfare, based on their training, experiences and personal perceptions.

However, each commander had their own ideas of how the conflict should be pursued, and their importance at the helm. Commander-in-Chief General Joseph Joffre, for instance, while rightly acknowledging that this was "an engineer's war", later spuriously claimed that if he had not been replaced at the end of 1916 his strategic planning would have ended the war a year earlier. Meanwhile, the astute Ferdinand Foch, recognising that "brutal assault methods of 1914 and 1915 were too costly and ineffective" stressed the need for new ideas. His arguments were heeded by others, including engineer Jean-Baptiste Estienne who, in addition to being one of the architects of French aviation and artillery, also became revered as the father of French tanks.

One of the many memorable features of this illustrated book is the inclusion of lesser-known generals such as Marie-Emile Fayolle. Furthermore, since existing French accounts of the period tend to focus on theatres of conflict and the experience of troops, this comprehensive, in-depth analysis of their commanders is an insightful and welcome addition to the overall historiography. **PS**

French troops in the trench system of Calonne, France, July 1915

Image: Alamy



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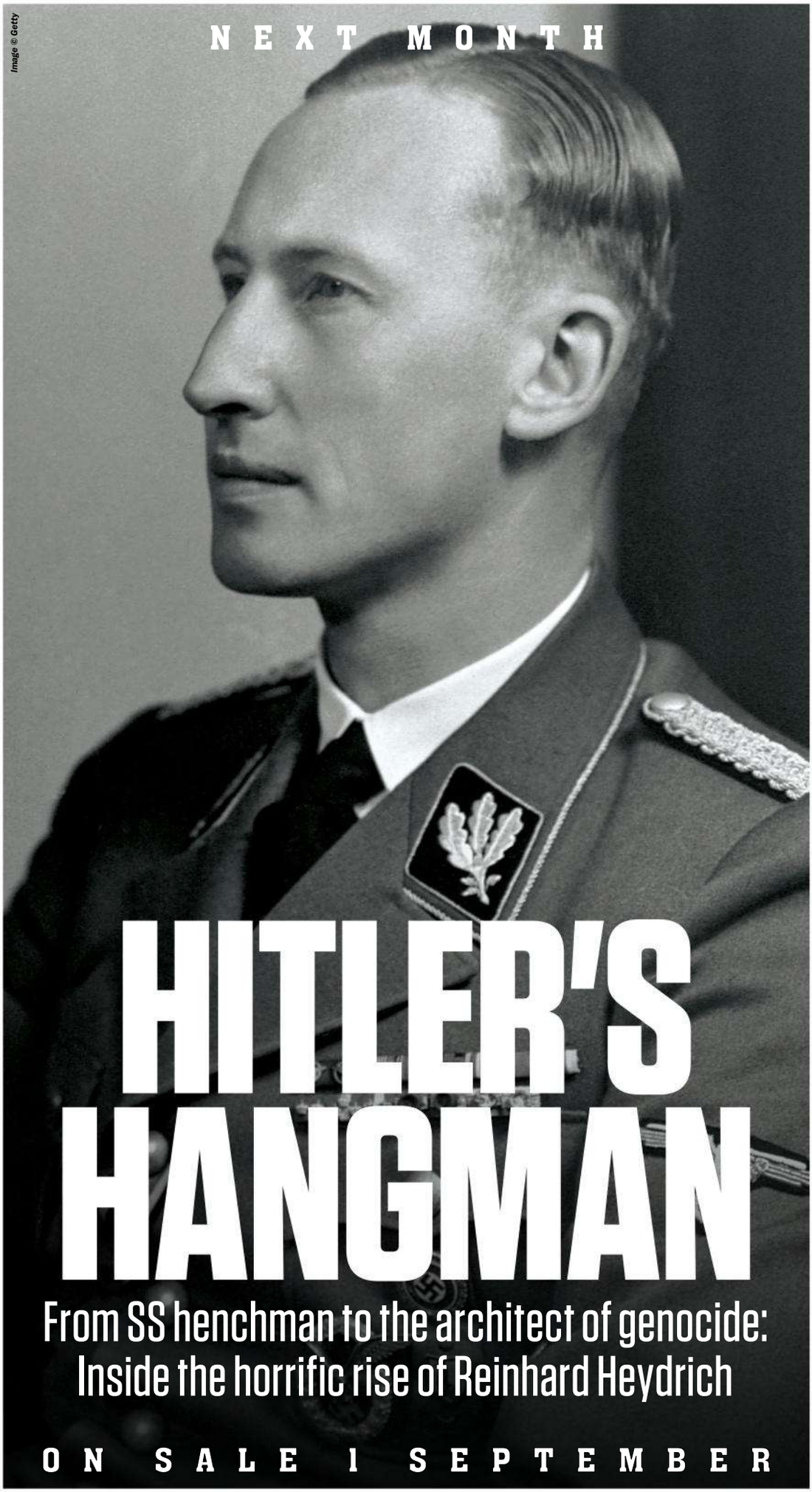
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HISTORY of WAR

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LORD KITCHENER DOLL

This unique toy of the British field marshal was manufactured during WWI by a disabled veteran of Britain's volunteer armies

The most famous British soldier of his day, Field Marshal Earl Kitchener of Khartoum was the embodiment of British imperial military might. Appointed as secretary of state for war in 1914, Kitchener organised the largest volunteer army ever seen in Britain. He appealed for volunteers for his 'New Armies' from August 1914, with recruiting officers and propaganda posters bearing his image being dispatched across the UK to persuade men to sign up. Almost 2.5 million responded and the volunteers were known as 'Kitchener's Army'.

Unfortunately, large numbers subsequently became disabled casualties. To help them earn money, these severely wounded veterans were assisted by the Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops to retrain in new skills. The main objective of the workshops was "the economic utilisation of maimed men untrained in any craft… men broken in the wars, men whose arms and legs and hands are stricken off or permanently injured men".

Drilling and block-making machines were fitted with flexible pulls that could be easily operated by one-armed veterans. Women and girls were also employed, with the female workers being dependents or daughters of serving military personnel. Many of the veterans made toys, which were a relatively rare commodity after Germany – one of the world's largest toy manufacturers – was blockaded by the Royal Navy.

This doll of Kitchener was made around 1915 at the height of his fame. Dressed in his khaki uniform and bearing his famous moustache, dolls of this kind would have been instantly recognisable in shops. In this regard, the toy can be considered as one of the first 'celebrity' dolls.

"FIELD MARSHAL EARL KITCHENER OF KHARTOUM WAS THE EMBODIMENT OF BRITISH IMPERIAL MILITARY MIGHT"

***Above:** The Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops were named after Kitchener's Boer War colleague who had campaigned for wounded ex-servicemen*

NATIONAL ARMY MUSEUM

The Lord Kitchener doll is part of the collections of the National Army Museum in Chelsea, London.

www.nam.ac.uk

Images: National Army Museum, Alamy

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